

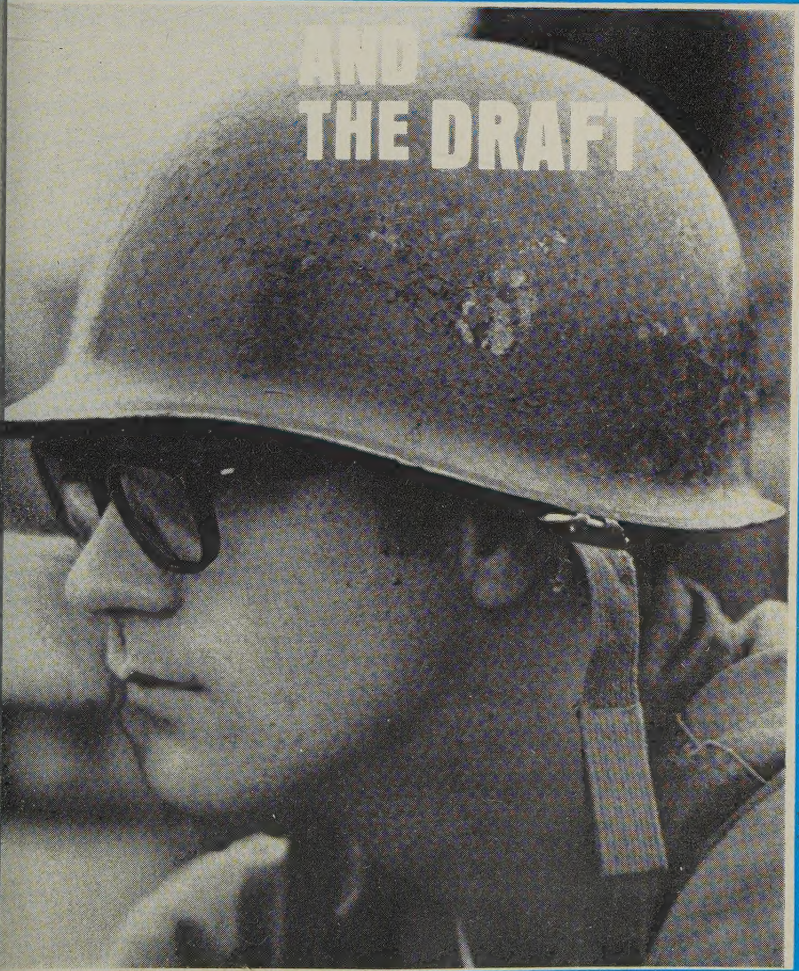
Religious Education

EXHIBIT

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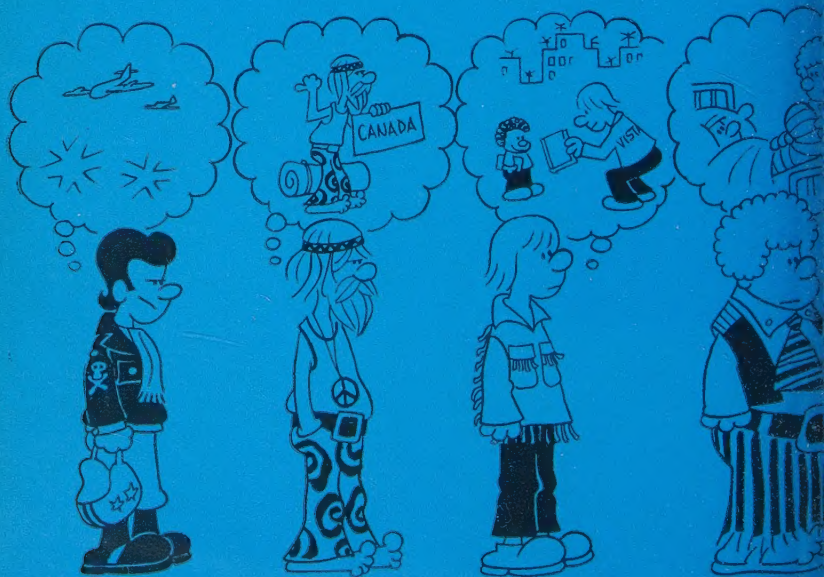
YOUTH

AND THE DRAFT



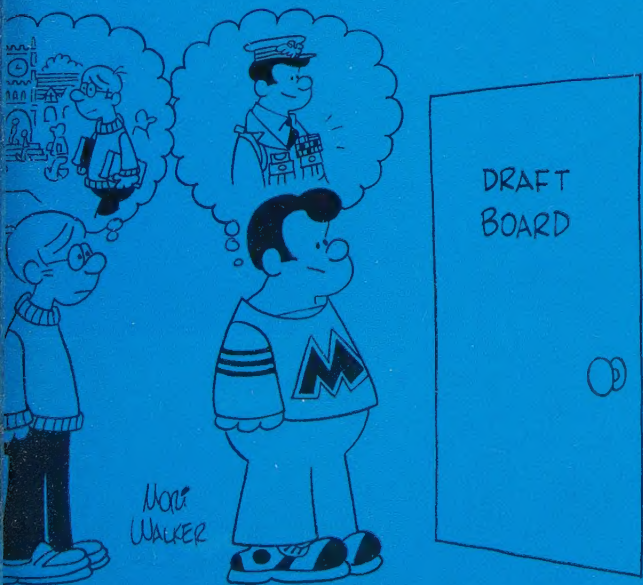
A DECISION FOR EVERYONE . . .

Every young man in the U.S. must face the Draft. Just as he plans his career, his education, his marriage, so his decision about military service must be part of his thinking about the future. And since the Draft may mean more than just a few years out of his life—it may take his life, it forces him to ask: What is the purpose of life? What is my duty to my country, to my family, to my fellow man, to my God, and to myself? What in life is worth dying for? The struggle with these life-shaping questions comes at a time when he is most involved in trying to understand himself and the world around him. And complicating his decision is a vagueness of the real facts about the Draft and the strong feelings of those closest to him. Dad recalls a past era that wasn't like it is today. Many schools don't even have a good book about the Draft and hardly ever discuss it in government or history classes. Many churches won't touch such a controversial subject. And some draft boards won't tell you a thing. But the Draft is a vital concern for all of us, for it is a law passed by a Congress



our parents elected, it reflects our national way of life to friend and foe at home and abroad, and it is a complicated system by which our country tries to be fair in its military manpower procurement. The Draft affects everyone, but especially those in high school. If a physically-fit young man of draft age chooses to go into the armed services, as many do, his adjustment to military life will be easier if his decision beforehand was an informed and thoughtful one. And he is helped by information available from the various military services. But often draft-age young men are not clear about other alternatives to the military, or they don't think seriously about military service until the last minute, or they feel it's unpatriotic even to raise questions about the Draft. Believing that an informed and thoughtful decision is a healthy one, both for the individual young man and for the nation, we hope that this special issue of YOUTH magazine will help our readers begin to form a basis for making an intelligent decision.

—The Editors



Cartoon drawn especially for YOUTH by Merv Walker

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WHY

WHY THE DRAFT?

BY E. WILLIAM YOLTON/L
most other nations, the United States has decided it needs armed force. It is provided in the Constitution. The Congress has the right "to raise and support Armies." (The Supreme Court ruled in 1918 that Congress has the right to use conscription to do it.)

Ordinarily, the same sort of incentives that persuade people to go into other jobs in our society might be sufficient to get enough men to enlist to fill the ranks of the armed forces—money, patriotism, the chance to leave home, the respect of others, job-training opportunities.

But, in times of danger, or if armed forces require great numbers, not enough people want to carry out their plans to join up. So you wouldn't enlist no matter how attractive you made it, for the possibility of dying overrides every other

Mr. Yolton is Secretary of the Emergency Ministry on Conscience and War, Dept. of Church and Society, United Presbyterian Church, chairman of the Interfaith Committee on Draft Information. He has written this and the following articles through page 15.

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5



THINK

WHEN DO YOU START THINKING ABOUT THE DRAFT?

It's never too early to start thinking about the Draft. Because it affects the future of every high school young person, girls included, you should know what the Draft is about, what opportunities and problems it presents, and what your rights and responsibilities are.

Get the information before it's too late. Eighteen is too late. While you're 17, and even earlier, learn about what you have to do in relation to the Draft. Upon registration at 18 and afterwards, mistakes can count against you and time limits are rigid for filling out forms and getting your rights. Before the pressure is on for filing forms and before group conformity forces you into doing something you'll regret later, learn what are your rights and responsibilities.

Understanding the draft system should be developed in the context of the home, the school, the church, and the whole society. Just as you might talk over plans for

college or a career with your parents, you should figure in the effects of the Draft. The Selective Service System reaches into every community and touches every young man's life and, therefore, it should be explained in high school courses. Most civics, government, or history courses never mention it, let alone explain it adequately. Nor are high school counselors trained in giving advice about the Draft. Although military conscription is for women one of man's most perplexing moral problems, few local churches now go into the careful deliberations that should guide decisions about your moral responsibilities in this field. Try to get adequate discussion in home, school, and church.

Girls come to realize that the Draft affects them as their brothers and friends come to feel the Draft. Part of a young man's reaction to the Draft is formed from the impression of what his girl, or his family, expects of him.

he political effect upon the society is more subtle, but as real. Because war is so important to our society, we allow government bureaucracy—with safeguards of due process or public accountability—to limit severely the liberty of a substantial portion of the populace. Education shaped to fit the necessities of the Draft. In some instances, the Draft is an outright instrument of oppression for dissenters, for minorities, and for youth culture. We are scripted in our minds to accept whatever purposes the Draft serves. These considerations weigh upon everyone.

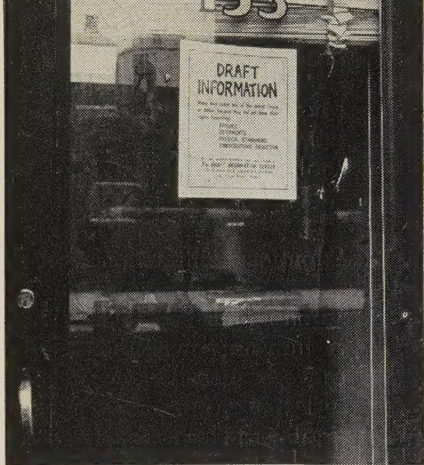
The Draft is for an important public purpose. Its legislative origin is in the context of responsibility for national defense. The national debate about priorities focuses on the purposes that the Draft now fulfills. For a growing minority, personal or religious liberties are in conflict with the requirements of the Draft.

Many men will enlist as their responsible act of citizenship. Others wait to be drafted. Most men cooperate with military manpower procurement as their democratic consent to the purposes for which it is used, or at least in deference to the possible action of elected representatives to make those decisions for them. Your response to

the Draft is part of your sense of citizenship, and your understanding of patriotism.

Some people get military service mixed up with proof of manhood. Military training also involves deliberate encouragement of a willingness to do violence to others, to kill if necessary. You will have to figure out what kind of a person you are and who you are going to be, and what rights you have against others.

From the moment you're born, your life is being shaped by the world around you. But as you grow older, you increasingly take responsibility for your own life. You accept some things, reject others. But eventually your life becomes what YOU make it. You will never know all the answers. And so it is with the Draft. It involves so many issues. Definitive answers cannot be given for most people. Some individuals will come to strong convictions that clearly mark the way they should go. Try to develop a reasonable opinion as to what you should do. Carefully weigh your own motivations and possible consequences. Talk it over with someone you trust. Once you make your decision about the Draft, you are the one who must live the life you decide to follow. It must be YOUR decision.



HELP

WHERE CAN YOU GET HELP?



You can find out about the Draft if you try hard enough. Until recently, information has been scarce but there are good books about the Draft, competent counseling programs are growing; and the Selective Service System itself is publishing new information.

There is no such thing as "objective" information about the Draft. Every source has its particular bias, whether it be the local draft board, recruitment officers, peace movements, school counselors, or the magazine itself. But you should try to get the most impartial source of information. Compare several sources until you are satisfied you are getting straight information. Written information from reputable sources has probably been checked for accuracy. Counseling services with wide community sponsorship have probably been properly trained and resourced.

Go to the local draft board.

The first and obvious place to get information is the local draft board. Trust or whether or not you trust it. If you think you have a problem, they will be able to dispel it. Why waste time imagining you have trouble? Every time you treat people at the draft board like people who are unable to help, they will be encouraged to act that way. They will give you the information you need to interpret notices and forms mailed to you.

Each local board has an executive secretary (or "clerk") and a

ical personnel in its office. They give information during office hours. The local board members should be able to assist. Their offices are posted inside the draft board office. Each local board is supposed to have a "government appeals agent." It may have a "medical adviser" and an "addresser to registrants."

After you have registered at the age of 18, if you do not keep in touch with the draft board, you're harming yourself. The Draft Board requires you to inform your local board within ten days of anything that might affect your classification. Observe basic precautions in dealing with the Selective Service System. Send things "certified mail, return receipt requested" and keep copies of everything. Submit your record of any communications you have with employees of the board for inclusion in your file. You have a right to inspect your file; check it to see if everything is in it that is supposed to be.

Check with people who should
v. Try your high school counselor or your own pastor. They may have begun to get some training in providing Draft information. Yet, most lawyers and social workers are uninformed. Your local CA may have begun a Draft information program.

Remember that these sources have less information than you. It is not just the generation

gap; they have different ideas from when they served in World War II. They may not be very sympathetic to your concerns; but give them a try. They could turn out to be more helpful than you expected. If they have literature from their church or from the accepted national counseling agencies, that's a good sign.

Contact Draft counseling services. Almost every metropolitan district has a reputable Draft counseling and educational center. It may be listed as "Draft Information Service" or "Selective Service Information Center" or similar title with the place name for the area it serves.

These groups are sometimes hard to judge. They may have lots of other groups sponsoring them, or they may be entirely independent. Their great danger is that they may be trying to talk you into something you'll later regret, or go to jail for. Most of these counseling groups have recognized this danger and lean over backward to avoid unfairness. They usually will have a clear statement of their purposes in their literature, will give you counseling that helps you decide what you want to do, and will refer you to proper sources such as doctors, lawyers or the state office of Selective Service if you need their help.

If you're too far away from any of these sources of help, there are two national agencies that will help

directly and also refer you to local sources of help you may not know about. Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, "an agency for military and draft counseling," and the National Inter-religious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors are broadly-based and trusted agencies. The American Friends Service Committee with offices in principal cities sometimes provides counseling or can make referrals. Nearly every denomination has someone who can help in their national office.

You can help yourself. Read up on the Draft and military service opportunities. Then talk it over with someone you trust.

The best sources of printed information are a pamphlet: "A Draft Law Primer," by John Reints, published by F.O.R., for 20¢; and a book: *Guide to the DRAFT*, by Tatum and Tuchinsky, Beacon Press, \$2.45. Military programs are described in *The Student's Guide to Military Service*, by Michael Harwood, Meredith Press, \$3.95, and in the September issue of *High School News Service Report* which is available at your high school. Guidance about conscientious objection is in the *Handbook for Conscientious Objectors*, \$1 from CCCO. Both CCCO and NISBCO have memo services on most of the problems a registrant will encounter. Selective Service now makes available pamphlets about the Draft and a booklet on military ser-

vice programs. You can get a page booklet called "Perspective on the Draft" from the National Headquarters, Selective Service System, 1724 F St., N.W., Washington D.C. 20435. Also available are pamphlets entitled "Lots of Questions Asked", "If You Are Asked", and "Hardship". Booklets and pamphlets are free.

A responsible Draft counseling service should have at least a few publications about the Draft here and will probably have more of its own and a collection of denominational literature and some of the information about public opposition. If you want to do further on a counseling center's recommendation, see whether they subscribe to the *Selective Service Law Reporter* and to one of the national newsletters about the Draft.

Finally, see that there is full public discussion in your community. Have all the facts discussed before you have to make up your mind. Get your school class to discuss the history and politics of conscription. Get your church youth group to discuss not only the procedures but also the religious and ethical questions that underlie issues of conscience and war. Invite your parents to find out, too. You might want to broaden your inquiry to all the opportunities of national service, and to the pros and cons of eliminating the Draft or even the army, too. Ask your school and church to provide expert counseling about the D

WHERE TO WRITE FOR HELP

Following organizations are directly related to military and draft counseling:

American Friends Service Committee, Education Division, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 (There are real offices throughout the U.S.)

National Committee for Conscientious Objectors:

National Office, 2016 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

Midwest Committee for Draft Counseling, 711 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., 60605

Western Region, 437 Market St., San Francisco, Cal. 94105

Faith Committee on Draft Information, Room 530, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., 10027

National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, 550 Washington Ave., 15th & N.Y. Ave., N.W., Washington D.C. 20005

Other allied agencies also have a special interest in the draft issue:

Agency Ministry Concerning U.S. Age Emigrants in Canada, 475 Riverside Dr., N.Y., N.Y. 10027

Worship of Reconciliation, Box 271, New York, N.Y. 10960

Home Visitation Service, 855 Woods Road, Southampton, Pa. 18966

National Council to Repeal the Draft, 101 S.E., Washington D.C. 20003

Other religious agencies are engaged in counseling services:

American Baptist Home Mission Societies, New York, Pa. 19481

American Lutheran Church, Division of Social Service, 422 S. 5th St., Minneapolis, Minn. 55415

Episcopal Church Specialized Services, 2nd Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10017

Episcopal Peace Fellowship, 300 9th Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10001

Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

Friends United Meeting, 101 Quaker Hill Drive, Richmond, Ind. 47374

Jewish Peace Fellowship, 420 Riverside Dr., N.Y., N.Y. 10025

Lutheran Church in America, Board of Social Ministry, 231 Madison Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10016

Lutheran Church in America, Committee on Youth Ministries, 2900 Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pa. 19129

Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Division of Youth Ministries, 210 N. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. 63102

Mennonite Central Committee, Peace Section, Akron, Pa. 17501

United Church of Christ, Council for Christian Social Action, 289 Park Ave., South, N.Y., N.Y. 10017

United Church of Christ, Youth Ministries, 1505 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

United Methodists, Board of Christian Social Concerns, 100 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

United Presbyterian, Emergency Ministry on Conscience and War, 830 Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107

Presbyterian Service Committee for Religious Objectors, 830 Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107

U.S. Catholic Conference, Division of World Justice and Peace, 1312 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington D.C. 20005

(A booklet which includes religious statements on conscientious objection is available for 75¢ from the National Interreligious Service Board for CO's, 550 Washington Building, 15th & N.Y. Ave., N.W., Washington D.C. 20005. The Youth Counseling Foundation, 711 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. will soon publish a list of local groups which can help you.)

CONSIDER



WHAT SHOULD YOU CONSIDER?

Any judgments a person makes about military service—and about participation in war—must be in terms of duties owed to himself and to his family, those owed to the government, and those owed to God. Each person gives his own stress to how these are related. In an ideal world they would not be in conflict, but in situations such as presently exist, these obligations are often in conflict.

It is tragically unfair that young men at 18 have to make decisions about difficult personal, moral and theological problems before they have had an opportunity to reflect upon them through life's maturing and mind-stretching experiences. There are no easy answers, but there is wisdom to help.

What the government requires: Every man of draft age has a theoretical obligation for six years military duty for his country. Actually the active duty time is considerably less. For draftees and conscientious objectors it is only two years. For the reserves and the national guard it may be as little as

six months, with the rest of the years in the active reserve maintained by regular drill meetings. Still others are exempt or deferred from military service. The reason for the Draft is that Uncle Sam needs you.

The Military Selective Service Act of 1967 is the current statute in which this obligation and terms of the Draft are spelled out. Much of the law is very technical and details the operation of the Selective Service System. Other aspects of the Draft are left undefined and are at the discretion of the local draft board or determined by the administrative practices of the Selective Service System. A body of case law based on court decisions has developed and has to be mastered by experts. Most of the things that affect the average young man are explained in pamphlets and books about the Draft that are now becoming widely available.

Despite the inconvenience that being drafted is, one should presume that the government is right



rafting you. This follows from a presumption that government is necessary, and in order to function must rely upon the obedience of citizens. One of the functions of government is protection; and from that is derived power to conscript. Because of life's disruptions and the high risks involved in being drafted, one has a greater than usual right to question the government's action in conscripting. The government is in effect making you a personal instrument of policy. Some religious groups teach that government does not have the right to force you to kill against your will, that this demand oversteps the limits of governmental authority. Still, one must weigh heavily the principle that government is to be obeyed, for the order of society is dependent on a presumption of the authority of government. The dangers of anarchy and the injustices that may result from having no government at all make even the most serious injustices tolerable. At the same time, the government wants to make its needs coin-

cide with your wishes. That is why so much emphasis is given to encouraging voluntary enlistments, and providing for deferments and exemptions that serve "the national health, safety, and interest."

There is, therefore, nothing wrong with seeking a deferment or exemption. Deferments and the lottery function to narrow the number of men the system has to process for relatively limited induction quotas. Remember, the Congress in enacting the law assumed that there would be a natural harmony between what you want to do and what the country needs you to do. The deferments and exemptions to which you are entitled are in the country's interest, too. Ministers, doctors, certain government officials, some occupations as the President may determine, and those who are in school, are encouraged to stay in those positions because they too serve the country. Many young men are not qualified physically or mentally (and a few are not qualified morally) to serve in the armed forces and can't be

used. If drafting a man would cause extreme hardship to others he should be deferred for the good of the community. It is therefore your patriotic duty to see whether you actually should be in a deferred or exempt category.

Your interest: When you think about your legal obligation for military service, you are likely to consider your own interest and those of your family. It is natural to look after "number one," and it is usual to take into consideration your family's desires.

There is nothing wrong in trying to minimize inconvenience. You may want to enlist to get it over quickly and in the most favorable form of military service. You may want to go on to college, junior college or a trade school for as long as you can. You may want to get out of military service if you can. A few will prefer to give alternate service. You may want to make a career in the armed forces.

Higher considerations: Along with considering the claims of the government and your own plans for the future, some will want to consider higher and more ultimate claims. The biblical prohibition of murder was transformed by Jesus who urged us to love our enemies. The teaching that the "powers that be are ordained by God" (Romans 13) is qualified in that they are to be subordinated to Christ. Most Christian churches have condemned war in theory,

even while sanctioning it in practice. For most Christians, war is sin. For some, participation in war will be forbidden. For others, war may be "a tragically necessary evil," the last resort before what are regarded to be greater evils.

Everybody in the modern democratic state, where each citizen shares in responsibility for political decisions, has a moral duty to question government decisions about going to war. One of the fundamental reasons for having a nation state might be invalidated if a country goes to war for the wrong reasons. One of the claims of the state for allegiance from its citizens is invalidated when it unjustly risks the safety of its citizens. A citizen must now share in making that judgment and try to influence the leadership to do what is right.

Just war: A future soldier has a special duty to try to determine the justice of the conflict in which he is called upon to serve. He may be a direct agent of doing what is right in helping the nation survive or he may be directly or indirectly responsible for carrying out an unjust war, or even entrapped into personal actions that go beyond what is allowable even in war.

These considerations form a body of principles known as "just war theory," and they have come to be embodied in international law. Broadly stated, the just causes of war are (A.) "To protect the innocent from unjust attack; (B.) To re-

store rights wrongfully denied; (C.) To reestablish an order necessary for decent human existence." (Ralph Potter, "The Moral Logic of War," p. 10)

Pacifism: A potential soldier should also weigh the possible position that no war is justifiable. This position, which is known as pacifism, has a rich and lengthy history. The emphasis of most pacifist is on a positive duty to do all in one's power to make and keep peace.

Three "pacifist" traditions may be identified, although they should not be equated with this oversimplified account. First, some stress the importance of doing no killing as an absolute principle of personal conduct; they may emphasize the teaching of Jesus or the authority of the Ten Commandments for this personal stand. This position is identifiable as "vocational pacifism."

A second pacifist position, "instrumental pacifism," stresses the notion that refusing to go to war is moral because it works. These pacifists stress the usefulness of their position in avoiding or ending conflict. Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King believed that the only way to end war is to use non-violent means to resolve social conflict.

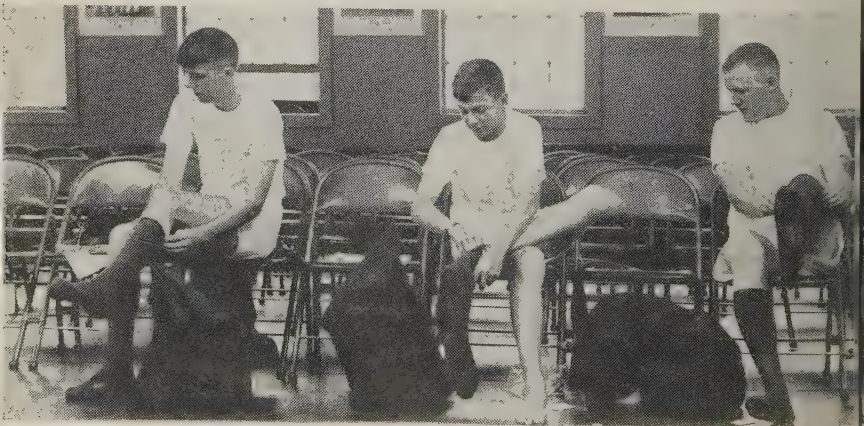
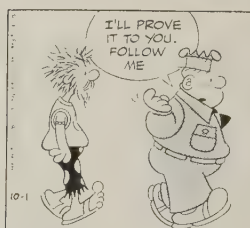
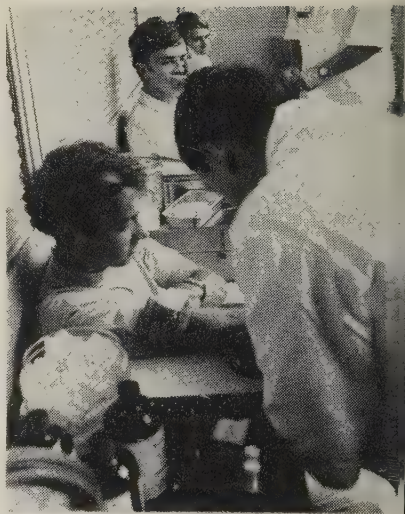
Thirdly, there is a growing number of people who acknowledge the traditional principles of just war teaching as the basis for limiting conflict between nation-states, but because of new ways of conducting war can find no more instances that

qualify under the rules for justifiable war.

The overwhelming availability of other methods for avoiding or resolving conflict never seems to require war as a last resort. The likelihood that major wars will be nuclear ones resulting in national—and perhaps world—suicide forbids entering into such a war. Those who say "better dead than Red" do not have the right to impose "holy war" and this nuclear alternative upon the rest. Similarly, as the war in Vietnam has shown, "brush-fire wars" fought to suppress local disputes lead to bigger wars. Counter-insurgency warfare inevitably leads to atrocities and even to attacks against whole peoples (genocide) or countrysides ("ecocide"). There has to be a proportion between the injustices to be corrected and the means employed.

The man who decides to go to war for the sake of justice and love will be an "agonized participant." The man who refuses may apply for conscientious objector classification and promise to do two years of alternative service. On the possibility that your claim will not be acknowledged by your draft board, you should consider whether or not you believe in your principles enough to go to prison.

Some convictions about what is worth living for are worth dying for. And, "each man has to do his own believing just as he has to do his own dying." (Martin Luther)





HOW TO REGISTER FOR THE DRAFT

You should register for the Draft within five days after you become 18 years old. Every male citizen or permanent resident of the United States is included.

Go to the nearest draft board office, or a registrar at your school or college, if there is one. When abroad, any diplomatic or consular officer of the United States who is a citizen of the United States may register you.

The registrant enters his name and residence on the tally sheet, SSS Form 4. Then he provides information for the registrar to place on the Registration Card, SSS Form 1 and signs it.

The permanent address you give will be the basis for assigning you to a draft board which will always have jurisdiction over you. The mailing address you give is that to which all notices will be sent, and you must advise the local board within ten days each time there is a change in your mailing address.

The local board to which you are assigned will send you your registration certificate (SSS Form 2) on which will be recorded your Selective Service number. At registration, or after several weeks, you will receive the classification questionnaire, SSS Form 100. You have ten days to fill it out and return it. Consult one of the simple guides to filling it out before completing it. If in doubt, ask. On the basis of this form, and any other information you supply later, you will be classified.

BY RALPH HAGOPIAN / Get a group of draftable young men together for any length of time and the subject of local draft boards inevitably comes up. One of the favorite—if somewhat depressing—topics of such conversations is the inconsistencies of local boards.

One draft board gave a III-A deferment (Hardship to Dependents) to a man whose wife had a spinal condition and couldn't work to support herself and their baby while he would be in the army. She had parents who could help financially, but they wrote the draft board (at the husband's request) and said that they refused to do so. That was sufficient. Meanwhile, at another local board, a registrant who had dropped out of college to support his widowed mother and younger brother and sister was denied a III-A. The draft board simply told him: "Your younger brother can drop out of high school to support the family."

This inconsistent treatment can be very disturbing if you are wondering about your own chances for deferment. Contradictory rumors arise, because people generalize from one or two incidents to form ideas about what is standard.

The fact is that local draft boards do vary. But they usually vary within the boundaries laid down by the Military Selective Service Act of 1967. Elsewhere in this issue you will learn about the rights guaranteed you by law, appeal, administrative remedies and judicial review if you wish to challenge the decision of your local board. This article is devoted to what the draft boards are allowed to do, and why.

There is no need to feel helpless when facing the Draft. With some knowledge of what makes draft boards decide the way they do, and how they operate, you should be able to exercise some control over your own situation.

How Draft boards operate: The local draft board is responsible for "delivering" men for induction in response to monthly calls from the Department of Defense. To carry out this task, the board keeps files on every male living under its jurisdiction when he turned 18. These files are kept active until his liability expires (26 years old; 35 if he ever held a deferment).

From time to time the board gathers information on registrants by mailing them questionnaires, but mostly it relies on you to notify it within ten days of any change in your situation, (address, dependents, health, college, etc.).

R. Hagopian is director of the Pittsburgh Draft Information Center and a campus minister with University and City Ministries.

The draft board office is open daily, and is staffed by one or more paid clerks who keep your file up to date. The clerks do not constitute the board, however. The draft board itself holds one or more evening meetings each month to decide on classifications. One study of draft boards in Wisconsin states that the average board has jurisdiction over 3,000 to 6,000 registrants, and handles 250 to 300 classifications per meeting. And most meetings last only three or four hours! Of the 4088 boards in the country, only 147 have jurisdiction over less than 1000 registrants. Three boards handle over 50,000 people.

Covering 300 classifications in four hours, as well as conducting hearings for registrants who appear personally, doesn't seem to allow much time for each case. However, 85% of the cases involve no deci-

sions. The clerk informs the board of those men who have passed the age of liability, failed their physical exam, or who have already been inducted. The board then takes appropriate action.

The remaining 15% of the registrants represent the major work of the draft board. The board must examine and review written evidence to decide if some classifications should be reopened or changed. It assigns deferments of two kinds: "statutory" and "discretionary." The statutory deferments are those for which Congress has specified the qualifications, such as II-S for college students, or IV-D for ministers and divinity students. If you qualify for a statutory deferment, the draft board *must* grant it to you.

On the other hand, discretionary deferments are those for which the qualifications are stated very generally. Therefore, the draft board are left to decide what particular qualifications apply. For example, a Hardship to Dependents deferment usually means the board is satisfied that dependents could not make ends meet if the registrant were drafted. Such a deferment could also be granted if the dependents were psychologically or physically unable to live alone.

But even financial qualifications vary. For example, what standard of living constitutes "making ends meet"? One board told a man to have his widowed mother sell her



come and move into a city apartment.

Another discretionary deferment is that for conscientious objection. Draft boards must decide if such claims are sincere.

All registrants are considered to be available for military service (I-A) unless evidence in their files warrants a deferred classification. Those who are I-A, or who are likely to be classified I-A in the near future, are ordered to report for a physical examination.

Many young men associate the physical exam with the induction process. If they hold lottery numbers which are not currently being called, they may worry that their draft board is trying to take them out of turn. Actually, the main purpose of the exam is to add information to your file about your physical and mental qualification. The board clerk reports the number of I-A's who are also medically acceptable for military service to the State Headquarters, where monthly induction quotas are assigned to local boards.

A clerk at your draft board then fills this quota by starting with the I-A registrant who has the lowest lottery number, and proceeding in consecutive order.

If your number comes up you will be mailed SSS Form 223 (Order Report for Induction) which specifies the day, hour and place to report. You will have at least 10 days notice before induction.

What makes a board decide as it does?: To win public support, the Selective Service is billed as "little groups of neighbors." These groups, according to the former Director, Lewis B. Hershey, "are far better qualified to decide whether a registrant would be more useful to his country in a uniform or in a civilian capacity."

It is this "decentralization" which explains why draft decisions on deferments vary so much. Hershey also referred to the board members as "friends and neighbors," which implies that they know you, and you know them personally.

Obviously, in areas with a dense population, this just isn't so. There are generally three to five members on each board, although there may be more. They no longer must live in the area where their board has jurisdiction. Each county has at least one board; more where the population is dense.

Board members must be civilians. Both men and women are eligible. They must be over 30 years old, under 75, and cannot serve on any local board for more than 25 years. They serve without pay.

Decentralization raises a problem, because there have to be some standards which are set at National Headquarters. Therefore, Headquarters must try to exert subtle leadership while not appearing to coerce the unpaid volunteers who, after all, can quit.

This influence from Headquarters

means that decisions not only vary from board to board, but that the same board may make contradictory decisions over a period of time. A board may classify someone one way and then have doubts after receiving a loosely-worded message from Headquarters. So it makes up for the first classification by treating another registrant differently, even if he has similar qualifications.

The draft boards themselves also feel contradictory pressures. On the one hand, they insist on the principle of independent judgment. However, according to questionnaires answered by draft board members, they would like to shift the responsibility of deciding who should be deferred and who should serve from their own consciences to somebody else's.

As a result of this conflict, draft board members seem to be particularly receptive to whatever appears as an authoritative suggestion. Therefore, the National Director can influence them far more by sending them his "personal opinion" than he could by issuing a direct order, which would challenge their jealously-guarded sense of independence.

For example, when General Hershey commented that student protestors should have their deferments revoked after one particular demonstration at Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1967, draft boards all over the country began to reclassify

their own radical students from II-A to I-A. Such punitive reclassification is now forbidden by the Supreme Court.

The general trends in draft board decisions are influenced both by messages from National Headquarters, and also by the type of person who serves on the board.

Messages: The highest level of authority is the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 itself. This was written by Congress, and even the President doesn't have the right to change it unless Congress grants him permission. (This was the case with the lottery, and the cancellation of deferment for new fathers and essential occupations on April 23, 1970.) Next in line of importance are the Regulations, which describe the classification procedure, what steps the board should take when ordering registrants to take their physical exams or to appear for induction. Regulations also tell how files and reports should be kept or forwarded to the proper agencies, and what information can be made public.

Along with the law, the Regulations make up the main body of the "orders" by which local boards operate. In addition, Local Board Memoranda are issued by the National Director from time to time. These are instructions for applying the Regulations to particular circumstances which are relevant to the nation as a whole. For example, one memorandum describes

he work appropriate for alternative service for conscientious objectors.

Local Board Memos can be amended or rescinded as situations change. The National Director also sends Operations Bulletins, which tell how board offices should be administered.

The State Director sends Advices and Bulletins describing ways that the Regulations should be applied to conditions in his state. Usually his communications are worded "You have the authority to grant deferments under such-and-such conditions," thereby hinting that he would like to see it done.

The State Director also gives his opinion when consulted by local boards about particular problems. He has the power to postpone a registrant's induction while he orders a local or appeal board to reopen a classification when any injustice is brought to his attention.

One of the most influential communications to the local boards is not at all an official pronouncement, but rather a monthly newsletter. It is designed to do two things: to create a loyalty to the policies of the National Headquarters, and to communicate the policies under the guise of items considered to be "newsworthy."

One recent issue of this newsletter had an article about a New York medical advisor who has served the city's 153 draft boards for more than 25 years without pay.

The article pointed out that this man believes "everyone should donate a portion of his life to serve his country." The implication was clear. Another article in the same issue reported on vandalism and disruptions in local boards, but announced that measures are being taken to duplicate files so that these disruptions will have no major effect on board operations.

Under the leadership of the present Director, Dr. Curtis Tarr, the newsletter has recently sought to encourage more open communication with the general public. It calls on all Selective Service personnel to be a "vital link in good public relations." Other articles have covered meetings of young people who recommend that student deferments be dropped, and more draft information be made available to the public through the offices of State Headquarters.

Membership Recruitment: The other influence on the decisions of local draft boards is the control of the kind of people who are chosen as board members. They are officially



nominated by the State Governor; however, it is the State Director of Selective Service who makes the recommendations, and he can withhold the name of a person whom he feels doesn't live up to his own image of a draft board member.

The State Director's main concern is to find people who are socially acceptable to fellow board members, who have jobs in which there is little danger of being transferred and who are "right-thinking." To get specific names, the State Director usually depends on the local boards themselves. Sometimes it is a retiring board member who selects his replacement, sometimes the board members vote together on a name. Political party leaders, influential civic groups, or veterans' organizations may also be asked to provide names.

Thus, membership on a draft board is an appointed, not an

elected, office. And the person appointed reflects the opinions of the people who do the appointing, not the registrants, and perhaps not even the general public.

What kind of person usually gets chosen? He is willing to devote free time to local board meetings. He does not take part in reform groups, in minority group organizations, or in political parties.

The average draft board member is college-educated, belongs to two community organizations, and attends church regularly. He is a small business man (in rural areas a farmer) rather than a banker or an executive of a large corporation. He holds strongly to the belief that private enterprise, self-discipline and service to one's country are values to be sought after. The average draft board member is 40 years old and has been on the board for ten years. The age is beginning to go down as a result of a deliberate effort by the Selective Service to make local boards more representative and more responsive.

In 1966, the President's National Advisory Commission reported that the average board had only one member under 50, and that 26% of the board members were over 70. Most boards have three veterans, one of which was in service during World War I. And although the percentage of black draft board members rose from 1.3% in 1964 to 6.5% in 1969, it still is not pro-



portionate to the black population of 11%.

When a State Director screens out from his recommendations people who do not fit the type of draft board member described here, it is understandable that he can then control the board's actions. Registrants with long hair, peace activists, those who have difficulty with parents and ex-college students who have dropped out to "do their thing," can all expect to be treated unsympathetically. Ghetto residents and high school drop-outs can expect that unless they know how to write and speak articulately they will have a hard time convincing the draft board of their claims to a deferment.

How can you control your situation?:

With thousands of registrants on every board, there is hardly any possibility for "neighborliness" to creep into their dealings. Furthermore, "friendliness" doesn't get much chance to operate either: while board members' names must be published, their age, residence and other personal information is kept secret. Their reasons for giving you a particular classification are withheld from you, making it difficult to offer rebuttal.

Once you know the kind of people on the board, and the sources of their policies, you will have at least some idea of how to approach your board.

Very early in your relationship with the board you will have to

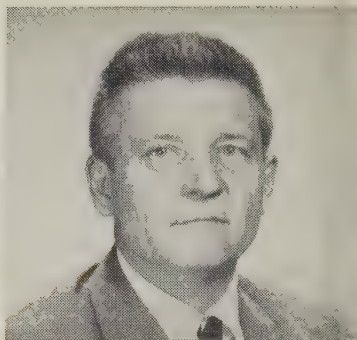
come to a decision about how much you will "play the game"; that is, will you be willing to fit in with the draft board's image of "clean-cut, bright, well-brought-up and industrious American youth"? For some, this comes naturally, for they identify with the board's image; for others, to "play the game" seems the least they can do if they're going to beat the Establishment; for still others, this seems against their personal principles and they would rather be honest and lose than dishonest and win.

Board members are faced with decisions about the destiny of many young lives. They are human beings. They are impressed—one way or the other—by such things as the simplicity, sincerity and dedication of the way you phrase your answers on the forms you fill out, or your grooming, poise, and language during a personal appearance before the board, or the community prestige, official titles, or the authority of references you give to support your case.

No matter what way you decide to deal with your draft board, you should first be very sure of your own goals. Then, with a knowledge of the make-up of the board members, you can set about achieving these goals. You will feel a sense of personal control over your own Draft situation—not a helplessness in the face of these "little groups of friends and neighbors" you may never even meet.

"I CAN DO MORE BY STAYING ON THE BOARD . . ."

QUITTING



Mr. Will Sumner lives in Evansville, Wisc., and has served on the local draft board for 15 years. Here he talks about what it's like to make decisions affecting young men's lives.

THIS IS YOUR SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Following your registration for selective service you will be mailed a Classification Statement, which you will fill out and return to your local board. This statement contains information you provide in that document you will be classified by your local board into one of the classes described on the reverse side hereof. This classification will be the decision of your selective service local board, based on the evidence in your selective service file, and you have every right to question that decision should you disagree. Every selective service registrant has certain rights and privileges in the selective service system. You have the right of personal appearance and to be heard, and every effort is made to assure that these rights and privileges are not taken away from him. You will continue to be informed of these rights and privileges as your selective service process is continued. Should you have any questions, you may telephone, write to, or visit your local board, or any other selective service local board.

Your local board is composed of citizens of the community in which you live. Each local board has a Government Appeal Agent who is ready and willing to offer any legal counsel on Selective Service matters of which you may be in need. All of these services are available to you free of charge and are added to the cost of health, safety, and interest.

A hundred or more times over the past 15 years I've wanted to resign, to quit making Selective Service decisions which affect young men's lives. But what good would I do as a draft board dropout?

The draft is terribly unfair. No one knows this better than those of us who are on a draft board. The most comfortable thing for me to do would be to quit—never again to come home from a long meeting to pace the floor, unable to sleep, wondering if the decisions I made about other men's lives were the right ones.

But if I quit, the draft system goes right on. By staying on the board I can at least work toward some relative degree of fairness.

and I can criticize more effectively than I could from outside the Selective Service System.

Because we feel our responsibilities keenly, other board members and I realize our obligation to explain our actions whenever we are asked to. We take time to appear at workshops on the Draft. We've discussed and argued our approach to things with both doves and hawks. We listened carefully to arguments of the draft resisters—perhaps the very ones who ransacked our offices this summer.

Because I can't always explain to an irate mother why her son was called up while the boy next door is still at home, I have considerable irritation with the U.S. Army. I can't agree with its standards which bring me so many phone calls and so much criticism. Many drafted men are being sent overseas to fight—perhaps to die. I think how much more pleasant my life would be if I knew these men would be out on the honor squad at Arlington Cemetery, assigned to guard a paper clip warehouse in St. Louis, or placed as physical education instructors at a California camp.

Over the years, I've become our board's specialist on conscientious objector requests. Another board member has taken a special interest in farm deferments, another in industrial and critical skills problems. They don't always agree with my judgments on CO's, nor I on their decisions. We argue. But since we

have worked together so closely, and because we all know the agonies we sometimes go through in making decisions, we can disagree with genuine respect for each other. Our mutual esteem has increased with our disagreements.

With more than three years of overseas duty in World War II, I can understand the dislocation the current two years of service makes in a man's life. As a near-pacifist and an active objector to the Vietnam war, I can understand criticism of what I do as a draft board member.

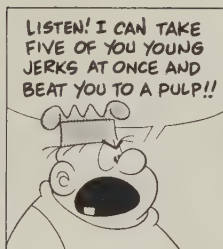
But no matter what rationalization I use, I always come back to the realization that I can do more by staying on the board than I could by quitting and ignoring the whole mess, or by quitting and trying to work for change from the outside.

I haven't changed the Army. But I have made my views known to many people, including the Congressmen who make the laws governing the system, and the service people who administer it. I've said my piece on a national TV special on the draft.

On a local level, I can go on trying to minimize inequities. And our board can at least insure that wealth, position and influence never enter into the awesome judgements we must make.

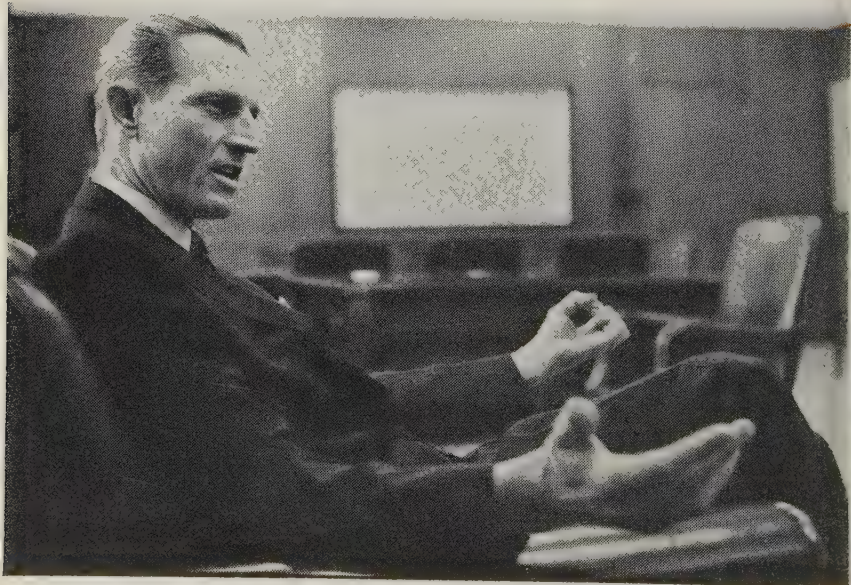
Progress towards fairness is slow—but I'm convinced it is faster than it would be if all who felt as I do dropped out of the draft.







YOUTH INTERVIEWS "MR. DRAFT"—DR. CURTIS TARR



Dr. Curtis W. Tarr, 45, was appointed Director of Selective Service in March 1970, succeeding Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey. Before becoming "Mr. Draft," Dr. Tarr was for nine months assistant secretary of the Air Force for manpower and reserve affairs and for six years president of Lawrence University, Appleton, Wis. A veteran of World War II, the tall Californian holds a doctorate in history from Stanford University and degrees in economics and business education from Stanford and Harvard. He and his wife have two daughters. He was interviewed in his office by the editor of YOUTH magazine. Excerpts from the taped transcript follow.

How do you see the struggle of the high-school-age young man as he faces the Draft? How can the Selective Service System be of most assistance to this young man as he makes his decision?

First, I think it's important for us to provide the kind of information that every young man needs in order to make an intelligent decision. We have embarked on a program to provide printed resources for young people on a variety of subjects that obviously are their concern. For example, before a young man registers for the Draft, he ought to know something about the process involved. We also hope that we might educate young people more on the responsibilities that America has as a world power that require us to have people in the armed forces. So, first, we want to guarantee young people enough information so that they can make reasonable decisions.

Secondly, I think we have a responsibility to insure that all young people will be treated equally and equitably no matter where in the country they live. In the past, there have been instances, because the Selective Service System has been so decentralized, and even locally autonomous, that there was no insurance that a young man in Toledo would get the same kind of treatment as a boy in Phoenix. Now, we want to provide sufficient information to people on local draft boards so that they have a better awareness of what the regulations are. As we've traveled around the country since I've been on the job, I get the impression that people on local boards are really wanting to know, "What can we do to be more consistent in the actions you expect from all of us?"

How is your office now helping local boards be more nationally consistent in their decisions?

We are continuing with the work that we began in April, to provide more detailed instructions for local boards on their actions. I think that

these instructions now are even more detailed than they were earlier in the year when we issued that local board memorandum to carry out President Nixon's desires in his April 23 message to phase out occupational and paternal deferment. What we're doing is working much more vigorously with our inspection services—these are men who travel from one state headquarters to another, making sure that the states understand our directives and are carrying out the appropriate action. I think both of these things ultimately will produce a system that is much more equitable than the one that we found in the early months of this year when we began our work.

One of the hardest jobs for a local draft board is to decide whether or not a boy is sincere when he applies for a conscientious objector classification. What guidelines have you given local boards to help them in determining such sincerity?

Your question suggests that determining such sincerity may be impossible. Many of the people who work on local boards also seem to think it's impossible. Whenever you deal with human conduct, correspondingly you will find human judgment of the sincerity of human conduct.

The best guidelines we can give the local draft board is to try to spell out what the law really is. And it's a law that's been modified by several Supreme Court decisions, such as the Seeger and the Welsh cases.

Some local boards feel that only young men from the traditional peace churches are religiously sincere in their objection. Can a Jewish, or Roman Catholic, or Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, or United Church boy be a conscientious objector?

I hope we can clear this up, both for our local boards and for the young people, in the materials we're preparing. For instance, in the pamphlet on conscientious objection, we hope to emphasize what the young person's appeal rights are, which is quite important. In the whole process of Selective Service, there is a very carefully-designed appeal procedure that works and is available, if young people at their own initiative take advantage of it.

Not all legally-recognized objection is based on religious training and belief in the traditional sense alone. But also considered is where the beliefs of the individual are as central in his life as the sincere religious training and beliefs might be in another's life. In other words, where your ideology is as strong as another man's belief in a traditional God—

and it is as influential on your course of action—then that represents conscientious objection.

That, however, is somewhat different from the fellow who says, "I'm not sincerely opposed to war. I'm just sincerely opposed to this one." There you begin to take on a whole range of objections. You know, you can be sincerely opposed to the war because you are a communist, or because of political feelings over the way in which Southeast Asia should develop, or because you think America has no foreign policy objectives in that area, or because you think America's problems are at home, not overseas, or that a disproportionate amount of our resources are expended in that area as opposed to our own ghettos. There are a whole range of reasons, and we could be just as sincere about these as the conventional conscientious objector. But where does the government draw the line? Should the government permit people to object to its policies which have been arrived at in the orderly process of government? And to what degree do you establish a precedent then that we have to live with for a long time when there are aspects that you don't like, or I don't like, or somebody else doesn't like? This is a lot tougher question for me. The thing is, if you could just determine what really is the moral ground for a person to differentiate between this war and all other wars.

I've said before that I think most people who think they're selective conscientious objectors (against some wars and not others) are really conscientious objectors—that if they were to have seen another war in another environment, they would be as opposed to that as they were to this one. But they say, "But I didn't see another war."

What are the chances in the future for a Supreme Court decision on the selective conscientious objector's position?

The chances are very good that the Supreme Court will make a decision on selective objection because they already promised to hear the case in the fall term. We expect them to decide one way or another but I cannot predict their decision.

The problem with selective objection is that it is harder to enforce. It is even more difficult for the local draft board to determine sincerity. And, if you cannot measure sincerity and if you begin to defer everyone who objects, whether honestly or dishonestly, then, to the extent that you're favoring the dishonest, you simply have to go out and find someone else to serve in their place. And, insofar as service in the armed forces is a task, because people probably could make a greater wage elsewhere,

then what you're really doing is taxing unfairly to a greater extent the people who are willing to be supportive of the government.

Has there been an increase in persons registering as C.O.'s?

There has been an increase in the number of persons claiming conscientious objection since 1965. And as disenchantment with the war in Southeast Asia grew, the number of persons claiming conscientious objection also grew. There was a rather substantial increase of C.O. applicants among students recently graduated from college last June.

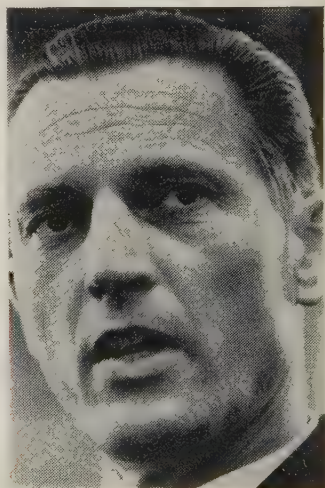
How would you respond to the persons who say it is unpatriotic to be a conscientious objector?

I don't think it's unpatriotic. I think it is less popular, and the degree to which we link patriotism with popularity is perhaps unfortunate. Patriotic things are doing the things that urgently need to be done for the protection and the strengthening of the nation.

Are there other ways to serve your country besides the military service?

Quite obviously. In a sense, the bulk of our people spend their lives doing it. Certainly every teacher, every minister, every doctor, every nurse, every dentist, every lawyer, and on and on, is serving his or her country.

"Too many youth are too idealistic with respect to what the world would be like if we abandoned our potential for retaliation."



country. If a man is doing honest work, it is hard to assume that he is not serving his country in a creative way. The question, however, is: "Is it not possible for us to utilize the talents of young people in other creative ways aside from the armed forces?" The answer: "Yes, probably." The real question is: "Are we yet prepared to utilize the services of all the young people who reach age 18 or 19?" And my answer to that is: "I doubt it."

Now, there are many things that need to be done in the society—to rebuild the cities, to improve low-cost transportation so that people can get from place to place to where they can work and all, to improve housing, to improve the environment in which we need to survive, to teach some of our people better than they're being taught now. The question is: "How many people can we use immediately for these kinds of jobs?"

One way to kill the whole concept, I think, would be to try to utilize too many people before we can use them creatively. Could we organize a smaller program in more reasonable size that could utilize some people, if they did not want to go into the Draft?

That raises another question. If we had these alternate programs available to draft-age youth in the size that we could finance them and utilize the people creatively, would we find these youth entering these alternate services for the wrong incentives, just to avoid the Draft? And if you thus attracted less idealistic youth, would the effectiveness of such alternate programs suffer?

Both as an educator and as a national leader, do you feel that there is a maturing morally among youth today that causes them to oppose war and violence as a way to answering our world and domestic problems? Is there a universally moral awakening among our youth as reflected in their seeming to be more socially sensitive to what's going on?

I think a simple answer is not possible to that question. I think young people are better informed about what is going on in the world and its problems than any other generation, though they are, perhaps, no better informed on how to solve the problems. I think there is a tendency among youth to have a less realistic attitude on what is possible and not possible in reorganizing the world community. I think they have less patience with problems, as they are in the hope that demands that the problems be solved by another generation will be fulfilled. I think they have a growing awareness of the futility of war. I'm not sure what this all adds up to, or that you can say unequivocally that this generation is more mature.

And what would you say about the moral concerns of youth today?

I think you could make the statement that the moral discernment is at a deeper level among today's youth.

A girl from Hawaii wrote us asking: "Why do we draft boys, instead of men? Maybe 18 isn't a boy, but it's young to me. Here in Hawaii especially in Honolulu, soldiers on R and R seem so young to me. It seem a crime for them to die. So many boys are too young to make an intelligent decision about the Draft. They don't have it all together yet. And the Draft just tears them apart." How would you answer her?

First, I would say it is a crime for a person of any age to die before his natural course has transpired. You can't say that death at one age assuages the loss of a person at another age. I don't think it helps the nation to say that a boy 18 years old is too young to die, but it's better if he's 21 when he dies. To me, this is just a horrible kind of equation.

Secondly, I think it is true that it is sometimes more difficult for young people to completely straighten out their feelings at a young age, but I'm not sure there is any magic age when that's possible. Young people say to me, "It's wrong to draft a man when he's so young because he really doesn't understand what his conscience is until he's older." This is also an argument for setting a higher minimum age for everything—for voting, for getting married, even for going to college. We let young people elect a course of study before they're ready for it over and over again. Yet who's the clairvoyant one who knows when is an effective age? And, incidentally, I'm ready to go out and work for the 18-year-old vote.

We do not draft people until they are over 19. Some are 20. If we delay until they're 26, it's much less likely that they can be challenged by what we ask them to do, or that they even can tolerate what needs to be done. Is it better, for instance, for a young unmarried boy to go into the armed forces and carry a rifle, if that's what needs to be done, or is it better to say you come to the age when you can sort these things out and then—even though you have a wife and a little boy—it's your time to go into the rifle company? Perhaps what that girl is saying is "Should we ask people to go at all?"

Another young person has asked: "Why put a limit on the draft age when there are so many men between 35 and 50 who think we should be in this war?"

A fellow 50 years old just simply could not do it—we'd have military units of over-age people who are physically unable to meet the requirements and rigors of the job. Then, in a national emergency, would that be fair to the women who are over 60 and need to be protected, or to the sub-teen and teen-age children? Obviously, the only reason that the nation attempts to have armed services is so that everyone in the nation can be protected. If the government or the American people, as a society, decide we need to have a military force so that we can protect ourselves in the international community—and there are a lot of ways in which you have to protect yourself in the international community—then it seems to me that the nation should get the best people to do it.

How do you respond to the idea of an all-volunteer army?

I think it certainly is an appropriate goal for us to work toward, and if we can provide sufficient numbers of people to do the jobs that need to be done, it would far and away be the best way to do it. I do not have the traditional reservations about volunteers. My only concern is: Can we provide sufficient numbers of people? My guess is that we cannot until we withdraw from the war in Southeast Asia, and I hope we can do this as quickly as possible. Then when young people who have not been estranged from the government or upset by our nation's involvement in the war in Southeast Asia become of volunteer age, I think we'll have a better chance. My hope is we can make the idea of a volunteer army work.

How do you feel about the war in Southeast Asia?

I would feel infinitely better if we were completely out of it on a satisfactory basis right now. I don't think there are many people in the country who would disagree with that.

A girl from Kansas says, "Let's get down to the real nitty-gritty and ask how Dr. Tarr can personally justify drafting men for mass murder." That's a strong way of putting it, but how would you respond?

Well, in the first place, the intention of the Draft is not for mass murder. Obviously there is killing in war, but the main reason we have armed forces is so we can make other nations realize that war is an unsatisfactory means to determine harmonious relationships between nations. I suspect what the girl has in mind is the taking of civilian lives in Southeast Asia as a result of military action. Some people are involved in grievous errors that take the lives of those people, but ultimately the thing we need to

"It's important to provide the kind of information that every young man needs in order to make an intelligent decision about the Draft."



weigh is: "What is the appropriate national policy that will minimize the number of people who are killed by ruthless leaders who would seek to dominate?" I suspect that the girl hopes very much that if we were not involved, the leadership of other countries in Southeast Asia would be more noble than they would likely be.

The difficulty is to convey to young people a sense of history. When I was in World War II, one of the most disagreeable jobs we had toward the end of the war was to liberate some of the concentration camps in Europe. It was a tragic thing. And, if you talk about mass murder, you must look at the situation in Stalingrad. If you back away from history, you have no concept of what mass killing is all about.

How do you feel about the groups who are seeking to find loopholes in the draft law or to encourage young people to avoid or resist the Draft?

When I took my oath of office I was committed to uphold the law of the nation.

Some things that lawyers are doing to aid draftees are within the law.

The question is: "Is it within the intent of the law?" And this is what we have to find out. It is our responsibility to make possible all of these

options to all young people that are within the intent of the law. And it is our responsibility to close off any option that is counter to the intent of the law. Now, we don't do this by ourselves. Other agencies are involved. But it is my clear responsibility to carry out the law that the people, through their elected representatives, have created. But, for the most part, enforcement of the law toward those who abuse it comes under the domain of the Justice Department. We have a responsibility to cooperate with them. We also have a responsibility to inform Congress of the things that we think need doing in order to make the law a better law.

How has your office been working on the complaint that the Draft is unfair to non-white and poor minorities?

I am more concerned about these people than any other group in our 19-year-old population. That's why we've asked for the elimination of undergraduate student deferments. Such deferments have typically given advantages to whites as opposed to blacks because more whites go to college than blacks go to college. I think the thing to remember, however, is that the Draft has never taken in a higher percentage of blacks as compared to the total population of blacks than it has among whites. Our induction among blacks is somewhat lower than their share of the population.

Do you feel the Supreme Court has dodged the issue of whether or not the draft law is constitutional?

The trick word in that question is "dodge". Obviously the Supreme Court has had opportunities to determine whether the draft law is constitutional. They have always decided to look at some particular effect of the law rather than the constitutionality of the idea of conscription, thereby confirming the constitutionality of it.

How well do you feel the lottery system is working?

I think the lottery system is the best improvement introduced into the Selective Service System since the act first was brought in at the time of World War II. I think the lottery now gives assurance to young men that they never enjoyed under the old method of induction. By the end of this year we hope to give assurance to half a million young men classified I-A by their local boards, that they will not be needed except in an all-out national emergency. This is the kind of assurance that they used to wait a much longer period to get—often until they were 26.

How do you feel about the introduction of objective draft counseling programs in high schools? What assistance are you and the state directors of Selective Service prepared to offer?

I think counseling is to the advantage of everyone concerned. What we're doing is to provide the kind of information which can serve as the basis for objective counseling. Our first materials are available to young people now. Soon we will have available other more specialized pieces of literature. We also are preparing course materials for high schools which wish to introduce materials into their curricula for courses on the Draft.

Since you've been in office, what changes have you noticed in the attitude of the country toward the Selective Service System?

I think many young people now believe that the system of random selection does give them the kind of assurance that was promised, and they take some satisfaction in that. I'm sure, however, that much of the complaint against the draft was actually a complaint against the war in Southeast Asia and so as the war there is scaled down, we can expect some reduction in complaints about the Draft. I'm also certain that as long as we have a Draft, many young people who will be subjected to it will be unhappy about that fact regardless of the system by which they are inducted. So we can never expect that whatever we do will eliminate dissatisfaction. All we may do is eliminate the inequity of the system.

Do you anticipate any changes in the Selective Service System within the next six to ten months? If so, what will be the nature of such changes?

I'm sure that we will begin talking with Congress about changes in the Selective Service law. And if we go before the Armed Services Committees of both the House and the Senate in the administration's hope that the President's authority to induct men beyond 1971 can be extended, I feel certain that the two committees of the Congress are going to want to look at student deferment to see if it would not be appropriate for us now to terminate undergraduate student deferment. They will be looking at conscientious objection to see if new arrangements for conscientious objection alternate service might be appropriate. Many people in Congress are going to raise the question about National Service. Others will call again for an exploration of universal military training, particularly as it relates to reserve forces, so that there certainly will be discussion about many facets of the Selective Service act. I'm not in a position to predict which of these will be enacted and which will not.

What do you see being your major task in the months ahead?

Well, the major task in the months ahead will be to work with Congress on the further refinement of this law. We certainly will be heavily occupied with that in the spring of 1971. Beyond that, however, we have our continuing job to do what we can to improve the equity of this system.

Are there any misconceptions about the Selective Service System that young people most frequently have?

Many young people are too sanguine on the success that we might have in this world if we had no means by which we could protect ourselves or protect our rights at a conference table. I think that too many young people are too idealistic with respect to what the world would be like if we abandoned all of our potential for retaliation.

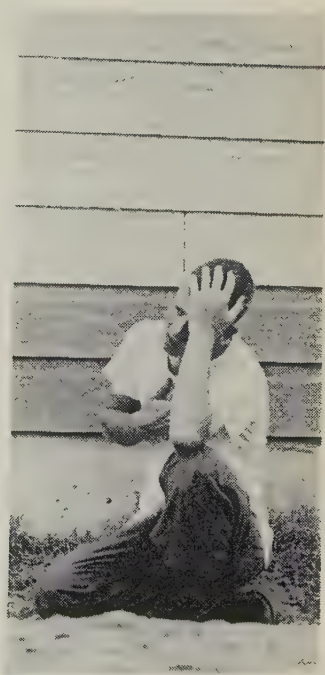
Do you think it is ever possible to have no Draft in peacetime?

I think there's a possibility some years hence when the climate for recruitment improves. I would not now be willing to tolerate an elimination of the Draft. I'm talking not as the Director of Selective Service, but as a citizen. It would be unwise to eliminate the Draft and then say to the American people: "Determine whatever foreign policy you can on the basis of the number of young men you can recruit." I think this is the wrong way to do it in the world in which we live.

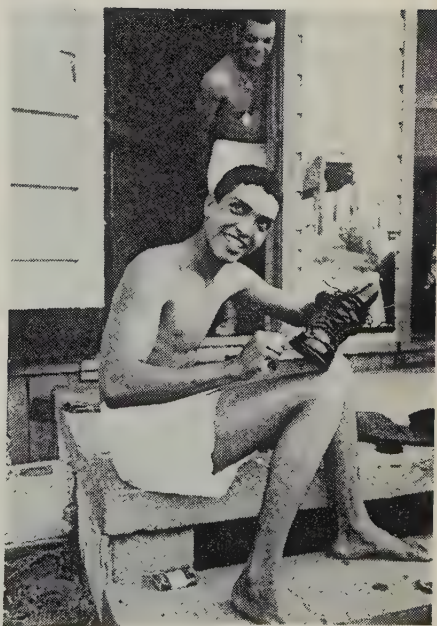
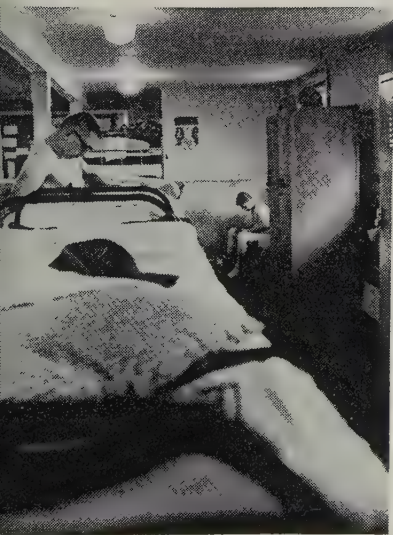
Many of our forefathers came to the United State to avoid peacetime military conscription. Now we seem to be having a reversal—youth are emigrating from our country for the same reason.

But are the responsibilities of this nation in the world today the same as when your forefathers and mine came here? And the ocean isn't as broad a place as it used to be. The kind of isolationism we had in the Thirties is an undesirable alternative. You and I know that freedom at any price is not a very precious commodity. Freedom that paves the way to slavery to me is not a desirable alternative. So if you live in a world where you have to make compromises, then I'm willing to do it. Many people are not. If your great-grandfather were living today in America—despite our peacetime military conscription—I would suspect that he would find the opportunity for freedom in this country today is vastly improved over the country that he left several generations ago.

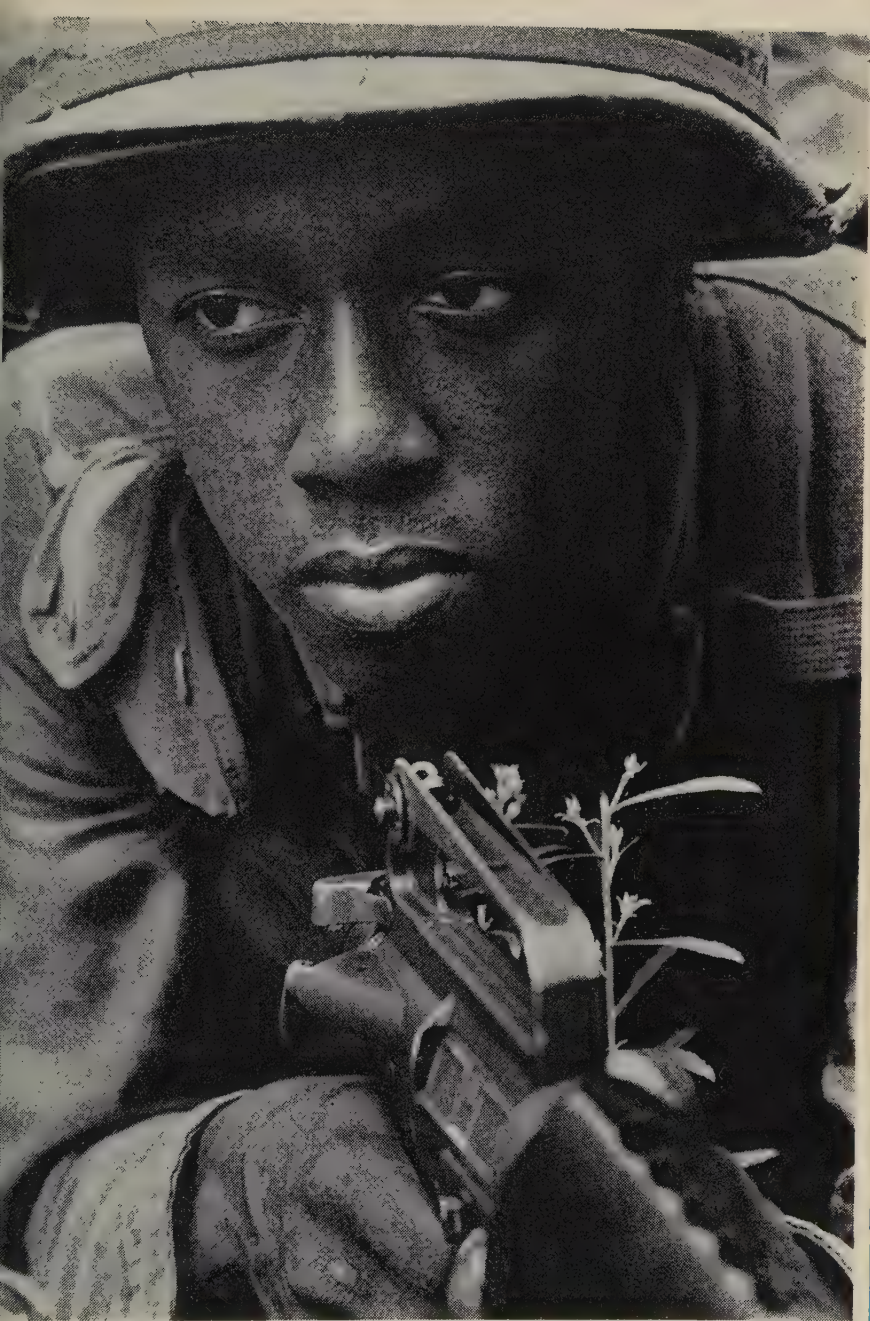




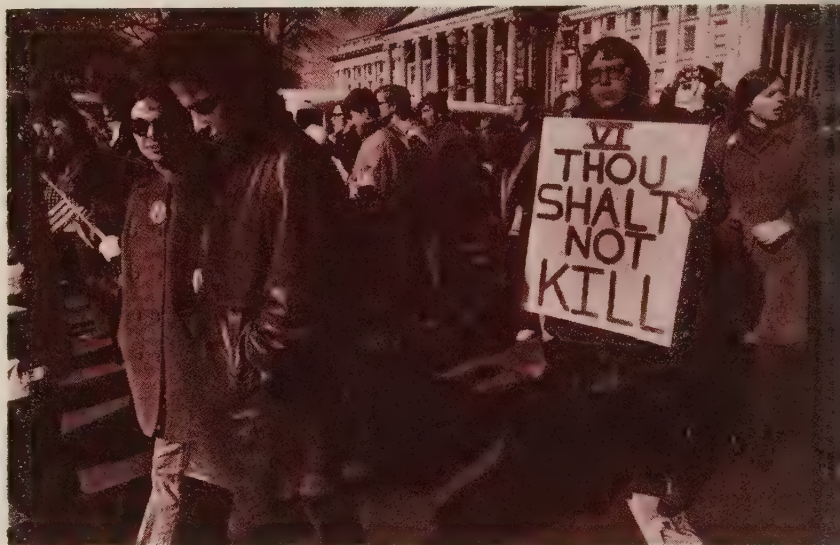








WHAT DOES BEING A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR MEAN?



BY RUSSELL CLAUSSEN / "My name's Jack," he introduced himself as he approached me at a conference. "I understand you're a minister."

"That's right."

"And you are also a draft counselor?"

"Right again."

"You're just the person I want to see," the young man smiled in relief. "I've been doing a lot of thinking lately about what I really believe about war and I need to talk to someone like you."

Mr. Claussen is on the national youth staff, United Church of Christ, specializing in draft counseling.

"O.K. Let's talk."

"Well, my Dad's always giving me this line about serving your country, fighting for what it stands for, and all that. But I feel that there are other ways of serving my country besides the military way. Frankly, when it comes to killing another human being, I wonder if I could really do it. Not that I'm afraid, for everybody is afraid of battle—both of being killed and of killing. But it's deeper than that. Why should I kill someone who hasn't done anything to me? And even if I did know him, what's killing him going to do to me?"

Isn't there a better way to solve our problems?"

"Many guys feel that way," I assured him, surprised at how quickly he had opened up. "What got you thinking about all this?"

"It's all so confusing right now," he had responded slowly at first. "I want high school to mean something to me, but I'm not sure what I want to be. What am I best at? Shall I go to college? What college? Where can my life mean the most? Then while I'm in the middle of trying to figure out who I am and where I'm going, along comes the Draft. But it won't wait. When I hit 18, I have to make a decision. And before I know it, the past flashes in front of me. The lives of people I respect. What I learned from my parents. What I heard in Sunday School. What I see in the world around me. And it all adds up to the respect for the humanity of the other guy and my own self-respect. It means that every life is sacred, unique, and cannot be replaced. To take another's life is man's biggest sin. Even to have the intention to do it. . . ."

"But isn't it only a small proportion of soldiers who actually kill?"

"Whether directly or indirectly, I'm involved in killing if I'm in the military," Jack replied. "The whole system is set up in order to train me to help others, or myself, to eliminate the threat of the enemy, and that ultimately means to kill,

if necessary. How can I do that when I feel that no man is my enemy?"

"How do you answer those who say that because we're human we've always had war and we always will?"

"I'm idealistic enough to hope that man has the capacity within himself to grow up and change. And I'm practical enough to feel deep down that mankind can no longer settle his national—or personal—differences by fighting, by killing each other, or by violence. If we are truly made in the image of God, then love is God's way, not war, nor violence, nor hatred, nor oppression."

"But what would happen if everyone refused to fight?"

"That's a victory for mankind!"

Then Jack pondered further. "You see, it's what violence and hatred do to the humanity in each of us that really bothers me—not only the victim and the guy who does the violence, but the whole community around them. It dehumanizes everyone's feelings toward his fellow man. It shatters all hope for reconciliation, for an answer, for a way out. And we've got to have a way out."

"What do you think that is?"

"It's whatever the best in all of us tells us to do," he responded. "And for me, what is best is reflected in what Jesus taught and loved. The church today may not

be doing everything that Christ wants it to do, but I feel that true Christianity is a liberating way of life. Jesus was a liberator, a revolutionary, a reconciler, a healer."

Again, playing the devil's advocate, I observed, "You know, there are some Christians who feel that when all else fails, violence is a necessary means to a worthy goal and that on some occasions killing a few can save the lives of many more. A common example is in World War II, when lots of men, including many Christians, who disliked the idea of killing someone, did become soldiers because they knew there would be even more deaths if the Nazis won the war."

"I wasn't around when Hitler lived," Jack replied. "All I know is how I feel now. And I know I could not take part in a war right now."

"What does all this say to you about the Draft?" I asked.

"I'm not sure."

"How old are you, Jack?"

"Sixteen."

"You've still got a little time to think about it."

"Do you think that what I've been saying to you would qualify me as a conscientious objector?" Jack was still searching. "I'm no saint or anything like that, but I've almost never really wanted to hurt anybody—even as a little kid. Sure, we had fights, but even if I won, I felt worse than the other kid. I still remember when some

older guys threw rocks at a squirrel and split its head open. I'll never forget it. I feel all life is important to God, even that squirrel. Does that sound stupid?"

"Not at all." I replied. "In fact, to qualify under the law as a conscientious objector, you need not believe in God, nor belong to a church, nor be in any way 'orthodox' in your belief. According to the Supreme Court, you can be classified as a conscientious objector if your personal moral belief is central to your life—its guiding principles—and to take part in war would go against that belief. But your daily life must show that you are sincere in this belief. Of course, your local draft board will decide finally whether or not they think you're sincere, although you can appeal its decision if it is against you. Eventually, you may have to face up to the question, 'Would I be willing to go to jail for my belief?'"

"What's involved in signing up as a conscientious objector?"

"Well, shortly after you've registered for the Draft at age 18, you'll be sent a classification questionnaire, just like everyone else. It's really important. On that form—it's Series VIII, I think—you can sign a statement claiming to be a conscientious objector and requesting Form 150, which is a form that all conscientious objectors must fill out. Basically, it asks what you believe

ieve, how your beliefs developed, and how you've expressed your beliefs in your daily life. Then they'll ask for references who can vouch for your sincerity. You'll also check on the Form which type of C.O. classification you're applying for. There are two classifications—O, which means you would do two years of alternative service working for a civilian agency, and A-O, which means you go into the military services in a non-combatant role, usually as a medic in the army."

"What if at that time I do not say that I'm a C.O.? Can I ever apply again?"

"Yes. You can apply anytime, even after you're in the military. Usually, however, the longer you wait, the more suspicious the draft board and the military become of your sincerity. Some guys think they should wait until their beliefs are really crystal clear, but they really don't have to wait that long. You can add information or a statement to your file at the draft board anytime, showing how your beliefs developed since filling out form 150."

"How do the churches stand on conscientious objection?"

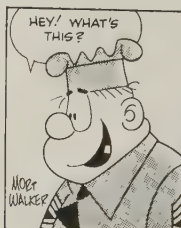
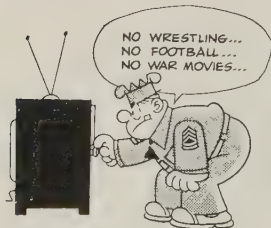
"Just about all the major religious groups have made major public pronouncements in support of the conscientious objector. Many of them ask that their own C.O.'s register with their denominational

offices. In fact, right now or before you're 18, you might well put some of your ideas or questions in writing to a church official in a national or a regional office—both to satisfy your own inquiry, but also to have it on record that you've been thinking about this before your 18th birthday. Your pastor can tell you more about who to write."

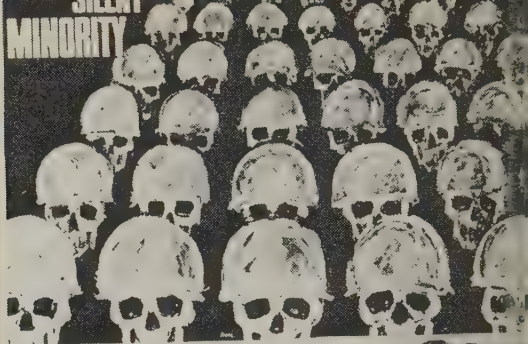
"What kinds of things would be helpful for me to do now?"

"I think you ought to talk with as many people as you can, including those who probably won't agree with you. Try your pastor, your parents, friends you respect, soldiers you know, and, if possible, some C.O.'s who have done alternative service, or resisters who have served time in jail. You might try writing a statement of what you believe, even some themes for English or other classes about your ideas concerning war. You could join groups working for peace, or start a new one. Keep informed. A book I'm sure you'd find helpful is the *Handbook for Conscientious Objectors*, which you can order for one dollar from the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2016 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa."

With a sigh of concern, Jack concluded, "I wish there weren't things like war. Why can't we learn to live together just as decent human beings?"







AGAINST

WHAT IF YOU ARE AGAINST THE DRAFT?

BY LARRY SPEARS / Men who are against the Draft have many reasons, just as do those who enlist or are drafted. Their reasons are mixtures of high aspirations, personal fears, social concerns, political convictions, and religious beliefs. They are not alone, for many in the military share their dislike for the Draft.

The nature of the war in Vietnam bothers them. It is hard to think of believable reasons why the long-distance killing and the chemicals are justified. There are some who simply are unwilling to go to Vietnam to kill Vietnamese people

without a personally convincing reason. Some are aware of the wounds in our society—cities, drug culture, starving people—which need healing too much to spend time in a war in which they no longer believe. Some see the brutalizing effects on returning soldiers. There is the fear of personal injury and death. Many question the political wisdom and constitutionality of America's involvement in Vietnam. There are also elements of rebellion against parents, authorities, and accepted standards. There are religious beliefs and moral convictions about war in general.

One motive may be higher or lower than another. However, two

A graduate of Union Theological Seminary in New York, Mr. Spears now studies law at the University of Chicago.

important things should be recognized: first, each man has a mix of reasons whether for enlisting, accepting the Draft, or being against it. Second, any conscientious decision with its subsequent willingness to accept the consequences is to be respected.

Men who are against the Draft respond in many ways. A wide range of choices is open to them:

A) Deferments. Many men who oppose the Draft have educational deferments which can partially insulate them from confronting the Draft. This is usually a temporary situation and only postpones a decision. For some, deferments are a way of hiding and avoiding the Draft forever. However, deciding not to decide about the Draft is its own kind of decision with deep consequences for the inner man.

For others, deferments provide a period for reflection and thought about personal responsibility and the demands of our times. A deferment can be a means for making a more thoughtful decision about the Draft.

B) Conscientious Objection. Conscientious objection has a long history in America. After early bad experience under the first draft law, Congress recognized that certain religious minorities would refuse to participate in all wars and, thus, Congress provided alternative

civilian service for these men. This alternative was generally open only to members of the traditional "peace churches": Quakers, Mennonites, Brethren, etc. With time, however, the mainline denominations of Episcopalians, United Church of Christ, Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, and Baptists began to recognize within their congregations' growing numbers of young men who were making this witness against all war.

In recent years, particularly after the Seeger and Welsh decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court, the courts have broadened the requirements for recognition as a Conscientious Objector. To be a Conscientious Objector, neither belief in a traditional "Supreme Being" nor proof of formal religious training or Sunday School is required. In all cases, sincerity of moral and ethical conviction—not theology or church affiliation—is the basic qualification.

C) Non-Cooperation. The Non-Cooperator rejects all relationship with institutions of killing. Unlike the Conscientious Objector, he refuses to recognize the authority of the Selective Service System and therefore will not follow the procedures toward alternative service as a Conscientious Objector. Before the Vietnam war and the emergence of the Resistance, Non-Cooperation was the only alternative to the Con-

scientious Objection procedures for those opposed to the Draft. The consequences were arrest, prosecution, and prison. Particularly during World War II, many followed this path for the sake of strongly held beliefs which were usually rooted in an absolute pacifism.

D) The Resistance. The Resistance developed as a deeply-felt political and moral response by draft age men to the war in Vietnam. The draft card turn-in and the refusal to step forward at induction are the general ways in which Resisters take a public stand against the war. The consequences for some have been arrest and prison.

Resisters within the armed forces are men who enlisted or accepted the Draft before they had clarified their convictions. Often these men are "sliders" who pushed aside questions about the Draft and the war in high school or thought that once they were in the armed forces they would learn a trade and get a soft state-side assignment. Often opposition to the military system develops during the experiences of basic training. Sometimes political questions and moral opposition develop only after assignment to Vietnam or actual combat there.

Within the armed forces, discharge on grounds of Conscientious Objection is much more difficult than it is for a civilian making a

similar decision. Violations of orders, dissent, or protest of any kind bring a trial under military procedures and military punishment.

Basic Faith in America

Each individual Conscientious Objector, Non-Cooperator or Resister has different motives and reasons for his position but usually they share a common, basic commitment to America and a faith in its renewal. These men seek to take a public stand of protest and to accept the legal consequences within the system. By doing so they believe they are providing an important service to their country. They choose to face misunderstanding, hostility, challenge, and possibly trial and prison. It is a courageous witness. If the American society was not worth reforming and standing within, why should they stay?

Pressures from Home and Family

These men are under heavy pressures from family, friends, community, and the whole American culture. Challenges to their manliness, courage, good faith, patriotism, and family loyalty are constant. Knowledge of the anguish which their decision may cause to their families weighs heavily upon them. Charges of radical, Communist, chicken, un-American, un-Christian

are frequent. Self-doubt and uncertainty reinforce these tensions.

The pressures vary with each man's situation. One understanding parent, friend, minister, or teacher can make all the difference. Family members who seek to communicate and affirm their love and support, even when they may not agree or understand completely, can renew a man's confidence in doing what he believes to be right. The fellowship of other men struggling with similar conscientious decisions can provide the support needed to respond honestly and patiently to hostility and misunderstanding from others.

Pushed to Choose Exile

Some men decide that it is useless or impossible to take a stand alone against the Draft. Doubts of the usefulness of dissent in changing American values or foreign policy may add to a dissenter's burdens. Although most young men make their witness within the system—either in or out of the military—some are forced to emigrate.

The recent immigration to Canada and Sweden has been called the New Exodus. Over 400 soldiers have found their way to Sweden. Others have sought shelter in France, Denmark, England, and Italy. However, the great majority of draft-age exiles and military deserters from the U.S. travel to Can-

ada. Canada is nearby, accessible, mostly English speaking, and culturally similar to the United States. It is one of the few countries with no Draft that welcomes immigrants.

Numbers of exiles in Canada are difficult to estimate, and U.S. government official estimates tend to obscure the size of the exodus. Canadian anti-draft groups are presently aiding about 15,000 men each year. Sources estimate that there are 30,000 to 50,000 draft exiles and deserters already living in Canada, two thirds of whom are deserters.

An American charged with a violation of Selective Service laws or desertion cannot be extradited by the U.S. government from Canada. However, draft exiles and deserters can have no realistic expectation of ever returning legally to America. For these men Canada is a new home and the location of their future. The likelihood of an amnesty for these men at the end of the Vietnam War is small. As one man put it, "Why should they grant us amnesty? That would mean that nobody would fight in the next lousy little war. Everyone would just leave the country until it was over." Exiles and deserters must be prepared to accept the fact that they are leaving America forever.

Exiles face problems in Canada. Early financial support, cultural

shock, homesickness, finding a job, and arranging to continue education are common difficulties. These problems are reduced through the help of anti-draft and church groups in major Canadian cities, and are eased by careful preparations before going to Canada. Canadians are not encouraging immigration of young Americans who are emotionally immature and uneducated, especially in light of the increasing unemployment in Canada, backlash toward exiles, and harassment of young radicals because of the recently-renewed enforcement of the War Powers Act.

Legal Consequences

The courts have removed many obstacles for Conscientious Objectors, but the law does not recognize Non-Cooperation or Resistance. These men, like those whose application for Conscientious Objection is rejected on appeal, must recognize the possibility of arrest and prosecution. Men taking these positions seek the help of a lawyer familiar with draft cases.

Actual prosecution varies with the region of the country and depends upon the backlog of cases in the federal courts and the federal attorney's office. The official government policy is to prosecute all draft violations. In reality the number of draft refusers is too large

to carry out this policy. Often representative cases are chosen for trial in order to deter others. In some areas no more than one case in ten or 15 is actually prosecuted. When threatened with an indictment some men reconsider and accept induction into the armed forces. The case is then dismissed. In metropolitan areas large numbers of cases are returned to local draft boards for reclassification into non-active categories (I-Y or IV-F) in order to avoid a massive backlog.

Conscientious lawbreakers who defy the draft law publicly and do not seek to avoid the legal consequences are an uncomfortable burden for courts and prosecutors. These men are unlike other criminals. They are open and sincere, and even those who disagree with their positions recognize their seriousness and courage. They receive a certain grudging respect from many courts and prosecutors.

☛ The charge in the indictment is usually refusal of induction or failure to appear for induction. The maximum penalty for violations of the Selective Service laws is five years and \$10,000. Fines are seldom imposed. Sentences are usually served at minimum security prisons and work farms. At present there are an estimated 700 or more men in American prisons for draft violations. Their non-cooperation may

sometimes it is endured by men "with reasons"

be extended to the prison routine causing trouble in the entire system.

Prison

Some men are hurt by the prison experience, while others are strengthened and deepened by it. Adjustment to the regimentation, confinement, and limitations on outside communication is difficult. Generally there are other draft opposers in the same prison and some educational and training facilities are often available. But privacy is at a minimum. Prison life is not romantic or very pleasant, but it is endured by men "with reasons."

Dissenting within the armed forces has much more serious consequences. Military prisons and stockades are more punitive and dangerous than their civilian counterparts. Overcrowding in many military prisons is a serious problem. Conditions in military prisons may account for the high proportion of deserters among draft exiles in Canada.

Life After Prison

Life for a conscientious draft law violator after prison is changed, but the degree of change differs with individuals. All convicted draft resisters are disenfranchized as is every man convicted of a felony. Little prejudice is encountered in returning to schools and colleges. Of-

ten vocational goals are redirected to social and humanitarian service.

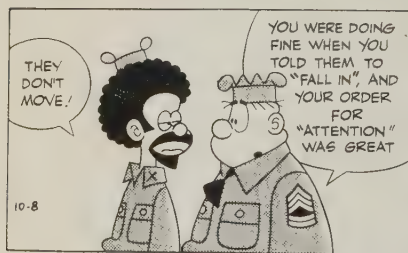
A felony conviction may inhibit a man's career plans. Some public employment opportunities are closed and others are more difficult to obtain. The probability exists that a conscientious refuser may be barred from a profession, particularly when a license is required.

Information for Wise Decisions

Any important decision concerning the draft requires counseling with knowledgeable ministers, draft counselors, and teachers. A high school student who wants to be informed should seek knowledge from a variety of sources (see page 8 for more help) and talk with people of different viewpoints.

Each Man Must Decide

No important life decision is easily made. Making a life decision is a fearful process because there is no absolute certainty that a decision is wise, honest, or responsive to the highest motivations. There are no guarantees for the outcome of our decisions. Therefore, your decision—whether to oppose or to comply with the Draft—affects not only yourself but should be considered for its effect on others and the whole society. But at some point each man must weigh the situation, decide, act, and accept the consequences.





RAP

TEENS RAP/HOW DOES THE DRAFT AFFECT YOU?

"The draft does not personally affect me in any way. It does not affect me because I do not plan to be drafted; I do not plan to seek shelter in Sweden or Canada, nor do I plan to plead conscientious objection. Instead I plan to enlist in the Armed Forces."

Jim Baynton, 16, Boise, Idaho

"I try to forget about the draft as much as possible. I always have made up my mind that they will never draft me into the business of killing and I then am able to think of other more cheerful thoughts."

John Ikenberry, 16, McPherson, Kansas

"I know inside that I wouldn't want to kill and be a part of the Army, but then again I look at the enemy and think how I wouldn't want to live under that same rule."

Don Nefzer, 17, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

"The draft has little effect on me since I am a girl. My boyfriend is in the National Guard. My brother is a member of the ROTC and all the other boys I know have very high draft numbers."

Ruth Ann DeFord, 17, Austin, Texas

"I'm quite confident that in a few years I'll be faced with how to avoid the draft, but I just don't feel anyone has the right to dictate my way of life for any length of time. Nor do I feel anyone has the right to kill, let alone force another to commit murder."

Darrell Marley, 16, Portland, Maine

"Personally I think we've got to cut out the toy soldier business and talk. Dodgers? Hah! They're a bunch of Chickens who don't know a good chance to get in there and practice some of the peace they preach!"

Daniel M. Maschmeier, 16, West Bend, Wisconsin

"The thing about the draft is that 60 and 50-year-old men are making the laws for 18 and 19-year-old boys. All of the kids who go are so young and most of the time poor. The kids in the colleges are even in a worse situation. What have

they got to look forward to but a rifle after all of the time put into studying and working so hard?"

Sharon Zettlemyer, 16, Bethlehem, Pa.

"A kid in our community just got out of high school and he was drafted. One day the officers came to his house. But he was lucky. He only lost the use of one arm. I thought he was awfully young. I saw him playing basketball. He was young, so young. My brother has 5 years to go. Only 5 years."

Susan Olski, 15, Rosendale, Wisc.

"I plan on filing as a conscientious objector when I do get notice. I feel the draft is unfair because people like me shouldn't have to go out of their way not to kill. I don't think a volunteer army is the solution either, because it sounds too mercenary. The only solution I can think of is not having an army at all. But if we didn't have an army, then we couldn't have wars. And then where would we be?"

Dan Richardson, 14, Seattle, Wash.

"I don't believe in the draft. But if they didn't have it most men wouldn't enlist. I think a man should go and serve his country."

Gabe Feldworth, 17, St. Louis, Mo.

"I would be proud to serve my country in a peaceful way. But I don't know if I could help fight a war that is unjust and makes no sense to me."

Tim Sharpe, 17, Winston-Salem, N.C.

"I think the draft affects everyone in the U.S. personally. This is a system that can take away a man and put him in a place far removed from us. My brother is 15. In 4 more years he could be fighting in a senseless war because the Federal Government has ordered him to do so. I believe in my country, but sometimes I think the draft can make us all think otherwise."

Christine Stith, 16, Winston-Salem, N.C.

"I may only be 15, but I'm still worried about being drafted and killed. War is a rotten business and I just don't want to be involved in it at all. When my draft call does come I'll probably go to Canada or try for a C.O."

Larry Moffatt, 15, Montclair, N.J.



Sue P.

Susan O.

Dan R.

Tim S.

"Friends and relatives of mine enlist so that they can choose what they want to go into, rather than end up drafted into the Infantry."

Cynthia Schaar, 15, Scranton, PA

"The lottery is the most fair method we have to recruit young people into the service so far. I think perhaps a better system would be based on a volunteer basis. For this reason, I favor universal military training. But, before volunteers could be gotten we'd have to get out of Southeast Asia. I think no one who would volunteer in a senseless war is crazy."

Deborah Bair, 18, New Philadelphia, OH

"The draft can totally ruin a young man's life. A person has definite goals that he tends to follow as he is growing up. He may plan to attend college, get married and raise a family or get a good job. But if his life is interrupted for two or three years for no necessary reason, he can do nothing but object. In the case of a war that would threaten this nation, the draft would truly be necessary and people could not object. Only the true coward would hesitate to fight for his country's freedom."

Edwin S. Gerrish, 17, Mobridge, South Dakota

"As I'm a female, the draft doesn't affect me directly. However, it upsets me no end because of the many injustices. The draft system haunts young men day and night, in college, while on dates, and so much of the carefree nature of youth is stifled because they fear being drafted. A volunteer army should seriously be considered."

Ann Haruki, 15, Kapaa, Hawaii

"The draft affects me very, very personally because I have a brother who is in the service. Anthony was only 17 when he went in. He is overseas now and we pray to God to see him home safely to us."

Bonnie Harrison, 16, Greenville, CT

"The draft can make young men very bitter about life—they know—making them fight when they don't want to. Personally, I think the whole Vietnam War is a mess. The United States is always sticking its nose where it doesn't belong. Maybe they're just trying to be a go-between to keep peace. I don't know. A lot of guys are getting killed that way."

Connie Both, 15, St. Joseph, Missouri



Larry M.

Cynthia S.

Ann H.

Elizabeth T.

"It's unfair that girls don't have to go through this hassle. But I'm so grateful I'm a girl."

Elizabeth Thompson, 17, East Lansing, Mich.

"The draft affects all of us. My oldest brother is on the verge of being taken. He has applied for C.O., and he has yet to go for his physical. Our whole family is worried about him. My second brother will be approaching that time in one year and with no more student deferments, my turn will come in two years. My entire family feels that the war is a needless, tragic waste of good lives and good money, and that the sooner we get out of it the better."

Jonathan Carter, 15, Meriden, Conn.

"I find it a shame that young men must fight and be killed. But, this is the tradition of the past. Our fathers went through it, and so did their fathers." Mary Aiken, 16, Sunnyside, Wash.

"If an 18-year-old is mature enough to have the decision resting on his shoulders of whether to shoot or not, then he is old enough to vote. I also think that the draft board should accept more volunteers than they do. If a guy really wants to serve his country and then he is turned down because of an allergy, it is ridiculous. Couldn't they give him a desk job? They should be more fair." Linda Lantzer, 16, Murrysville, Pa.

"I think we need the draft system; I just wish we didn't ever have any cause to use it." Sue Parker, 17, Madison, Wisc.

"It is my feeling that the Army is a Godless organization designed to commit the ultimate sin; taking another man's life."

J. Fritz Kohler, 16, Ambler, Pa.

"Because I am a female I am exempt from the draft, but I see many of my friends' and relatives' lives changed by it. When someone is against war and fighting they should not be forced to fight in something they do not believe in. It is as simple as that."

Eileen Moberg, 18, Monroe, Wash.

"The draft affects me through my friends who are forced to comply with it. I'm very glad I don't have to make the decision."

Rachel Ann Kurtz, 17, Defiance, Ohio

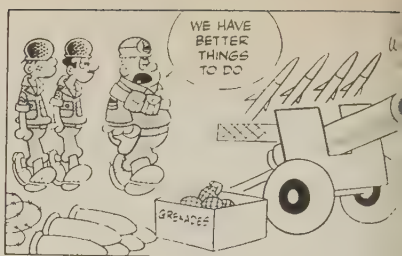
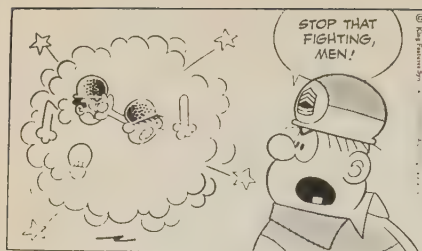


Connie B.

Jonathan C.

Mary A.

Eileen M.





WHICH OF THESE CLASSIFICATIONS DESCRIBES YOU?

The following classifications are listed in order of eligibility from highest to lowest. You are entitled to the lowest classification for which you are eligible.

- Class I-A: Registrant available for military service.
- Class I-A-O: Conscientious objector available for noncombatant military service.
- Class I-O: CO available for civilian work contributing to national health, safety or interest.
- Class I-S: A high school student deferred by law until graduation or attainment of age 20, or a college student deferred only until the end of his academic year.
- Class I-Y: Registrant not qualified for military service on physical, mental or moral grounds except in time of war or national emergency.
- Class II-A: Registrant in approved apprenticeship program, trade, or vocational school. (This formerly included a deferment for those performing essential civilian work. However, no new deferments are being granted to those who did not qualify and neither held nor applied for such deferment before April 23, 1970.)
- Class II-C: Agricultural deferment. (No new deferments are being issued to those who did not qualify and neither held nor applied for such deferment before April 23, 1970.)
- Class II-S: Student deferment. (The President has asked for authority from Congress to cancel any such deferments.)
- Class I-D: Qualified member of Reserves, student taking ROTC and accepted aviation cadet applicant.
- Class III-A: Extreme hardship deferment. (This class formerly included the paternity deferment, but no new deferments are being issued to those who did not qualify, and neither held nor applied for such deferment before April 23, 1970.)
- Class IV-A: Registrant with sufficient prior active service or who is a sole surviving son.
- Class IV-B: Official deferred by law.
- Class IV-C: Alien not currently liable for military service.
- Class IV-D: Minister of religion or divinity student.
- Class IV-F: Registrant not qualified for any military service on physical, mental or moral grounds.
- Class V-A: Registrant over the age of liability for military service.
- Class I-W: Conscientious objector performing civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health safety or interest, or who has completed such work.
- Class I-C: Member of the Armed Forces, the Environmental Science Services Administration or the Public Health Service.



QUESTIONS MOST OFTEN ASKED . . .

BY ROBERT I. EDENBAUM

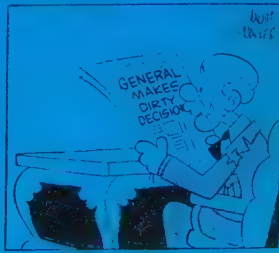
Note: The answers to these common questions are necessarily brief; by themselves they are not fully adequate to tell you what you need to know. Before acting on any of the problems raised, be sure to read the relevant sections in the rest of this issue of *YOUTH* and in Tatum and Tuchinsky's *Guide to the Draft* and/or see a qualified draft counselor.

Q: When, where and how do I register for the draft? What happens afterward? Can I change boards when I move?

A: You are required by law to register with the Selective Service System within five days after your 18th birthday. You may register at any draft board in the country and they will forward the information to the board which covers your place of permanent residence. That board will be yours for the rest of your life.

After registration, you will be mailed SSS Form 100, Classification Questionnaire, which you are to return within 10 days. This form requests information covering all possible classifications. You should fill out *all* sections of the form that apply to you even if some of the information will not be relevant until some future time. For example, list any physical or mental condition which might apply to you whenever you do get your armed forces physical examination. You are entitled to the *lowest* classification for which you are eligible, taking I-A as the highest and I-C as the lowest in the sequence. (See opposite page for list of classifications). You will usually be given a Registration card immediately upon registering; Classification card will be mailed to you after you return the form 100.

Edenbaum is Associate Professor of English, Temple University. He is co-chairman of the Philadelphia Draft Information Center. Here he answers those questions most frequently asked by high school youth.



Q: What are the penalties for failing to register for the draft?

A: The maximum for failing to register, as for all other failures to comply with the Selective Service law, is 5 years and/or \$10,000 fine. If you are considering non-cooperation see a qualified draft counselor.

Q: When do I receive a lottery number? Is that number mine permanently?

A: Each year a drawing is held to assign lottery numbers to men who reach the age of 19 in that year. The number drawn for your birthdate in the year you become 19 is your permanent lottery number. If you are classified I-A, you will be in the first priority group (see following question) for one year starting the next January 1. For example, if you had your 19th birthday during 1970, you will be in the pool from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1971. If deferred for the year, you will be called the year your deferment expires, and you are ineligible for any other deferments.

Q: If I lose a deferment in the middle of a year, how long is my period of eligibility? Only the rest of the year? The following full calendar year?

A: Upon loss of a deferment *and reclassification to I-A*, you go into the current first priority group only for the remainder of the year, no matter how short that period is. If your number has already been reached when you become I-A, and you have passed your pre-induction physical, you are liable for induction almost immediately. You cannot be inducted until your number is reached. If it is not reached at all by December 31 of the year in question, your first priority eligibility period is over. However, if your number has been reached but you have not yet received an induction notice by Dec. 31, you may still be inducted *until the end of March* of the next year. NOTE WELL: If, once your number has been reached, but delays due to personal appearance, appeal, physical exam, etc. take you over into the next year, you will be inducted *even after March* if you are still I-A when the delays end. If appeal results in another deferment, you go back into the first priority pool when you lose *that* deferment. If you pass your 26th birthday and have not been issued an



induction notice, you cannot be inducted even if your number has been passed and you are still I-A.

Q: What happens if they don't get to my lottery number in my period of first priority? Can I be drafted the following year?

A: After the period of first priority, you move into a lower group the following calendar year, a still lower one the year after that. The men in a lower group can only be drafted if quotas cannot be filled from the first priority group, that is, if the first group is exhausted.

Q: What is the absolute maximum age for possible induction? 26? 35?

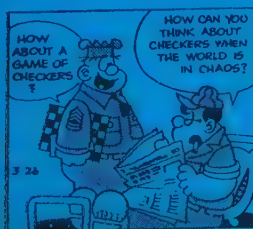
A: The man who has never received a deferment is exempt from induction when he passes his 26th birthday. The man who has accepted a deferment has automatically accepted "extended liability" to age 35. Men between 26 and 35 on extended liability are next to last in the Order of Call of I-As. They have not been inducted since the present draft law was enacted in 1948, and are not likely to be touched short of general mobilization. (The last category in the Order of Call is made up of men between 18½ and 19.)

Q: If eligibility is delayed until after the II-S is lost, can I still get another, deferment after that?

A: Yes. You are entitled to the lowest classification for which you are eligible, according to the sequence printed on page 68. I-A is the highest—if you are eligible for any other classification, it must be given to you.

Q: Since I will have no lottery number until the year following the year in which I turn 19, is there any reason to ask for a II-S student deferment before that moment? Are there advantages in avoiding asking for a II-S as long as possible?

A: There is no reason to ask for a II-S until it is necessary. The typical college freshman will not even have a number until the year he reaches



19 and not be in the pool until the Jan. 1 following. The advantage in delaying in asking for a II-S is that if your number is high enough and draft calls low enough, you may be able to permanently escape extended liability to age 35 by choosing to remain I-A and entering the pool. In following years of lower priority, *if draft calls do not go up significantly*, you may never have to ask for *any* deferment. If your draft number is fairly low when you get it, there is no point in delaying your request for II-S.

Q: Am I eligible for a II-S if I go to a two-year community college or Technical school? Apprenticeship program?

A: A full-time student at a community college or junior college is entitled to a II-A deferment *and* to two years of II-S upon transfer to a four-year program for his junior and senior years. A full-time student at a technical, vocational, or trade school will be given a II-A occupational deferment. The II-A holds as well for some apprenticeship programs. The Selective Service System has lists of approved programs.

Q: I am already 19, still in high school, and classified I-A. Can I be drafted before I graduate? What is a I-S deferment?

A: If you are a full-time student, you are entitled to a I-S(H) deferment until your 20th birthday, or until you leave or graduate from high school. Have your school send a letter to the board stating that you are a full-time student, and write a letter yourself asking for the new classification. If you will not graduate until after your 20th birthday, indicate in your letter when you expect to finish. Boards will often let the I-S(H) ride until the end of the school year, though some do draft men out of high school at age 20.

The other kind of I-S deferment is the I-S(C). It is given to full-time students in college after the loss of a II-S and *after* the receipt of an induction notice. It allows them to finish the full academic year before being reclassified I-A.



Q: What happened to the II-A occupational deferments?

A: Though you can still get a II-A for technical, vocational, or trade school, or for approved apprenticeship programs, you cannot get the deferment for a *job* unless you already had the II-A or *requested it* before April 23, 1970.

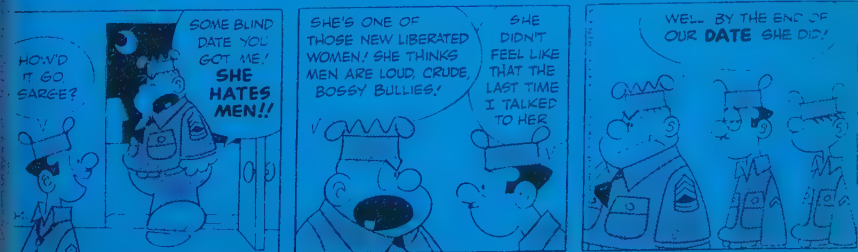
Q: What is the basis for a III-A deferment? Is being a father enough? Is it based only on financial support?

A: The III-A *paternity* deferment is now available only if you had one or asked for one before April 23, 1970. The III-A *hardship* deferment is available to you if you can prove that your induction would cause severe hardship on some other person. The questions on SSS Form 118, Dependency Questionnaire are almost entirely on finances, but the form allows room for statements by the registrant and the dependent, and additional statements may be added. It helps to have statements from anyone who knows the situation first-hand.

Q: If I go to Canada and become a landed immigrant, can't I then return to the United States without threat of prosecution? Is there a difference, depending on timing (for example, before or after registration)?

A: There is NO course of action which guarantees immunity from prosecution for a draft violation. That is not to say that a returning emigrant *will* be prosecuted; only that the Government will have the *option* to prosecute. The important moment in the emigration/immigration process is not that of departure, but that at which a "crime" is committed. The moment he fails to fulfill a duty as prescribed by law—by failing to appear for physical examination, or for induction, for example—he has committed a crime punishable by a maximum 5 years in jail and/or \$10,000 fine.

These questions about emigration are typical in that they concern returning rather than leaving. The man who leaves only with thoughts of coming back is all but guaranteeing his own unhappiness in a new country; we would do well to consider seriously the future misery that might result



from an immature decision to emigrate. Homesickness is not the best basis for a new life.

Q: Since I expect to have a II-S college deferment for four years, shouldn't I wait until graduation before applying for status as a conscientious objector?

A: No. You are required by law to inform the SSS of any information influencing classification when it occurs. The time to inform your board is at the first opportunity, and the first opportunity is on the Form 100 sent to you after you register at 18. Series VIII of that form reads, "I claim to be a conscientious objector by reasons of my religious training and belief and therefore request the local board to furnish me a Special Form for Conscientious Objector (SSS Form 150)." If you sign Series VIII, you will be sent Form 150, returnable within 30 days. Since the classification for C.O. is I-O or IA-O and that for students is II-S the board is required to send you the lower classification—II-S—and will not consider your C.O. claim until you graduate or otherwise lose the II-S and are not eligible for any classification lower than I-O. You may add additional statements or letters at any time to bring your form up to date. For example, you may want to bring into account your maturing ideas about yourself, your relation to God and man and life. Whether you sign or not, the decision on series VIII is a serious one that should be made on the basis of knowledge, not ignorance. You can, of course, decide that you are a C.O. at any later time. But, again, the best chance is the first chance.

Q: I have been told that I only have to be opposed to participation in the Vietnam War to get C.O. status; is that so?

A: Taking this question literally, the answer has to be "No" as of now. But saying that much is saying very little. The man who insists that it is only the Vietnam War he is opposed to will have to ask himself whether in that case he is willing to fight in Cambodia or elsewhere in the world.



Q: If I receive a C.O. classification, and my number is not reached during my period of eligibility, will I still be ordered into alternate service?

A: No. A I-O is ordered into alternate service only when I-A's with the same number are inducted.

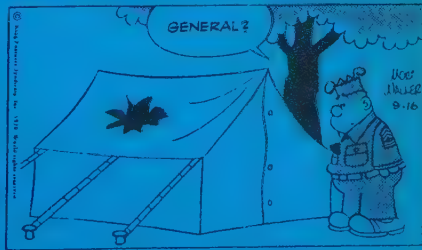
Q: How does an appeal work? What is the difference between a personal appearance and an appeal?

A: Please note that what follows is the barest outline of the provisions for appeal of a classification; it does not include all the information you might need to make use of the process.

After receipt of any classification card, you have 30 days beginning the day after the date on the card in which to start the appellate process. You cannot be inducted during that 30-day period, hence you can wait out most of it before writing to the board and, in general, your first letter should request only a *personal appearance* (not an appeal) and specify the classification you are asking for. If the board does not wish to grant that classification by mail, they must grant you a personal appearance no matter how much time elapses before they can see you. The appearance is especially important because it is the only time in the whole process that you see members of your local draft board face-to-face.

At the personal appearance itself, you may present your case, including whatever documentation is relevant. Within a few days after the personal appearance, you must be sent a new classification card which shows granting of the new classification or the continuation of the old one. In the event that the local board has turned you down, you have another 30-day period beginning the day after the date on the new card to ask for an *appeal*, and once again you cannot be inducted during this period.

The next letter you write is a request for an appeal, in response to which your local board will send your entire file to the State Appeal board. You cannot appear before this board. When they make their decision, they send your file, along with their decision, back to the local

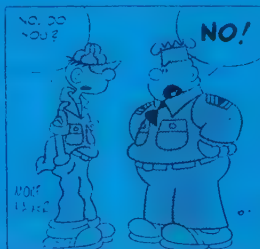
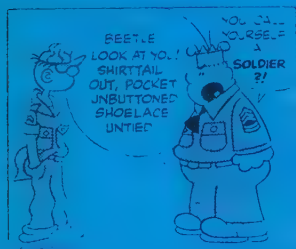


board, which must send out still another classification card with the vote of the appeal board indicated on it. If the vote is against you *unanimously*, that is the end of the appeal process; if it is a split decision, you have another 30 days in which to request an appeal to the Presidential Appeal Board. Split decisions are not common. Once this last appeal board makes its decision, the formal appellate process is at an end. There is further, informal recourse to the State Director, National Director, a Congressman, Senator, or the President himself, if you think an injustice is being committed.

Q: I have been found acceptable after the armed forces physical examination and I think the decision is wrong. Is there anything I can do aside from going through an appeal?

A: There is a *military* medical appeal that has been very useful for the last few years in changing the status of men improperly found acceptable. But, word has come down that the key man in the process has been refusing requests that come to his office, perhaps because these requests have been averaging 1000 a week. Until the situation is clarified, you can do the following if you think you should not have been found acceptable. Write to your Senator or Congressman, enclosing copies of a medical reports and supporting evidence, and stating that you have completed the pre-induction physical and have been found acceptable. State that you have been informed that Col. George W. Sgalitzer, The Surgeon U. S. Army Recruiting Command, has been refusing to intervene in medical and psychiatric cases, and ask the Congressman or Senator to forward your documents to Col. Sgalitzer urging him to intervene. If the Colonel chooses to comply you will be ordered for re-examination.

Unlike the regular Selective Service appeal process, use of the military medical appeal channels DOES NOT delay induction unless the surgeon intervenes. If you have the regular appeal process available to you, you should be making use of it at the same time. Whether you have the appeal process available or not, you should mail copies of your correspondence.



ence with the Congressman or Senator to your local board, asking that they take no further action in your case until the Surgeon responds to your requests for intervention.

If you face immediate induction, your letters should be sent Air Mail Special Delivery and you should send additional, simultaneous letters asking intervention and postponement of induction to the Medical Advisor, to the State Director, and to the National Director himself.

If more than a year has passed since your pre-induction physical, you are entitled to a full re-examination on the day of induction. If it has been less than a year, you are only given a "visual inspection."

Q: What significant changes in the draft are likely in the future? Is the II-S going to be eliminated? Will the draft be ended? Is "Zero draft-call" likely?

A: In his Executive Order of April 23, 1970, the President asked Congress for the power to eliminate student deferments, a power he does not now have. Though predictions on what Congress is likely to do on any issue are risky, my guess is that potential political repercussions are too great for the II-S to be done away within the near future.

It is not likely that the draft itself will be done away with. What is possible is Secretary Laird's prediction of a "Zero-draft call" by 1973. This means there would be a functioning Selective Service System which would draft no men until some kind of emergency made a quota necessary. All that can be said about that possibility is that *if* "Vietnamization" of the Indo-China War leads to the withdrawal of all (or almost all) American troops; and *if* the U. S. does not make new "incursions" into other countries throughout the world, and *if* large numbers of troops are not needed for operation within the United State; and *if* there are enough volunteers to meet all military needs within and without the U. S.; then a zero-draft call will be possible.

The permanent peactice emergency Draft has been with us for 22 years. It is likely to be around a good deal longer.



Mort Walker sold his first cartoon at age 11. By the time he was 14 he was selling regularly to magazines such as "Inside Detective" and "Flying Aces." At 15 he drew a comic strip for a daily newspaper; at 16 he had had more than 300 of his cartoons published; and by 18 he was chief designer for the Hallmark Greeting Card Company.

But it was not until he became an Infantry Rifleman in World War II that Walker gained the experience for Beetle Bailey, the cartoon strip he was to be known by. Beetle Bailey, has grown since 1950 to become one of the two most popular comics strips in existence: the dazed and sleepy-eyed private now appears in 1,071 newspapers throughout the world. Beetle is the darling of enlisted men, brass and civilians alike. Mr. Walker drew the cartoon on pages 2-3 for YOUTH. His agency, King Features, provided the cartoons throughout this issue.

BY LEWIS I. MADDOCKS/On June 30, 1971, the present Selective Service law expires. Between now and then there is going to be much discussion what should be done about our Draft policies.

In the debate about changing the law, three major positions are dominant. One view holds that the present law should be extended with minor, if any, changes.

An opposite group believes that the Draft law should be repealed and the entire system dismantled. In other words, those who want to enlist would do so and those wishing to pursue some other alternative would be free to do so.

A third view is a compromise—the Selective Service System should remain intact, but put on a back burner. Young men would register as usual at 18, but there would be

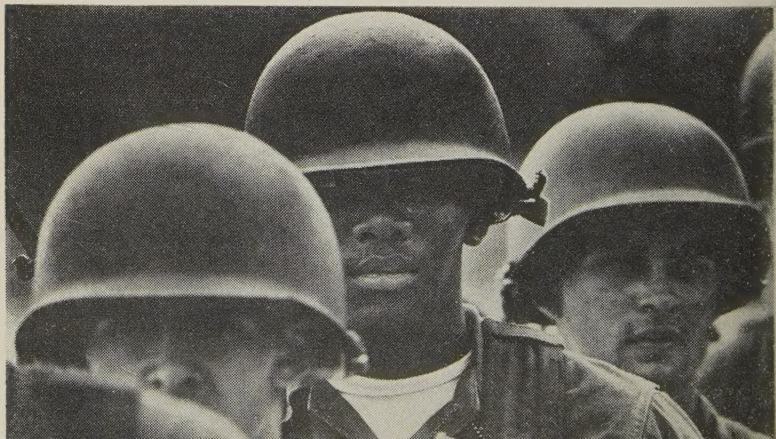
no conscription into the armed forces except in time of national emergency, to be determined by Congress, not by the President.

The big question is whether or not national security can be maintained by an all-volunteer army. Some leading legislators—from all shades of the political spectrum—feel that enough volunteers can be attracted if military service is improved by increasing pay, improving living facilities, adding service training and educational benefits, improving officer training and increasing use of civilians in the armed forces.

Opponents say an all-volunteer army would be too expensive and impractical. Others feel a mercenary military institution could be a dangerous force in our democratic society.

But the likelihood of the elimination of the Selective Service System in June, 1971, is very remote. T

Dr. Maddocks is Executive Director, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ.



al decision-making rests with the members—and especially the chairman—of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees and they presently oppose repealing the draft. However, 39 members of the Senate are on record against the Draft. President Nixon has promised an end to combat troops in Southeast Asia by June of 1972. With a declining demand for troops, the chance to end the Draft is now.

No one has more at stake than high school and college youth. So what can you do? First, become thoroughly informed on the pros and cons about repeal or reform of the Draft. If you show that you know what you're talking about, you may influence those who have not made up their minds as well as provide ammunition for those who are willing to come to your support. To be effective, it is just as important to know the arguments

of your opponents as it is to know the arguments of your supporters.

Organize those who agree with you so that you can be an articulate and cohesive force to present your views. Or join an organization already in existence.

Write letters to newspaper editors, to members of Congress, and to anyone whose influence on public affairs is important.

Finally, attend meetings where Congressmen, or candidates for Congress, are appearing and ask questions about their stands on repeal or reform of the Draft. Most such meetings are dominated by adults to whom the Draft is an academic subject, but remind them that to a teenager the draft is an ever-present reality.

There are other things you can do; these are only a few. But you can make a difference. After all, that's what the democratic process is all about.



CONTENTS

- 2 A Decision for Everyone**
- 4 Why the Draft?**
- 6 When Do You Start Thinking About the Draft?**
- 8 Where Can You Get Help?**
- 12 What Should You Consider?**
- 18 How to Register for the Draft**
- 19 How Does a Draft Board Work?**
- 26 "I Can Do More by Staying on the Board . . ."**
- 30 YOUTH Interviews "Mr. Draft"—Dr. Curtis Tarr**
- 48 What Does Being a Conscientious Objector Mean?**
- 54 What if You Are Against the Draft?**
- 62 Teens Rap/How Does the Draft Affect You?**
- 68 Which of These Classifications Describes You?**
- 69 Questions Most Often Asked . . .**
- 78 The Draft Law—Reform or Abolish?**